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Kuklev Elaborates on Military Openness, Security

PM0711095389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Major General V. Kuklev, deputy chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff Directorate, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent M. Ponomarev under the "Topical Subject" rubric: "Glasnost, Predictability, Openness"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Major General V. Kuklev, deputy chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff Directorate, told a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent about global confidence-building measures encompassing all natural media.

The Soviet-Finnish Declaration signed in Helsinki 26 October stresses that both sides are fully determined to inculcate in European and international practice a global policy of openness encompassing the skies, the ground, waters, and space and promoting all-embracing international security. What is this all about?

There is obviously no need to talk in detail about the fact that, guided by the new political thinking, the Soviet Union consistently advocates glasnost, predictability, and openness in the military sphere. That is our principled stance. Glasnost, predictability, and openness are indissolubly linked with and form an inalienable and very essential component part of confidence-building measures. Why? Because the introduction of these principles into international practice brings about confidence that the other side will be unable, so to speak, to conceal a big stick about their person and spring any surprises.

Here one could cite the decisions of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and, in particular, the principle it established of on-site inspection, or the strict mutual verification of the implementation of the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. Of course, it was not that easy for the Soviet Union to agree to such decisions. We believed for a long time that everything—or virtually everything relating to the military sphere—should be shrouded in an impenetrable veil of secrecy and the thicker this veil of secrecy, the more secure we supposedly were. But it transpired that excessive secrecy did not enhance but weakened our security since the opposing side could believe—and often did—that were were hatching most perfidious plans in secret and preparing most unpredictable actions.

That is just how it was. But it was no easy matter to surmount the psychological barrier existing in society. How, many people argued, can we admit foreign observers to our exercises and transatlantic inspectors to our testing ranges and missile bases? After that they will certainly take us without firing a shot and without so much as a by your leave... Even today this barrier has still not been overcome completely. But it has ceased to be an obstacle toward confidence-building measures based on broadening glasnost and openness in the military sphere. Life has shown that our country's security and that of its allies has not grown weaker under these conditions but, on the contrary, has grown stronger.

It was from these positions that the Soviet Union also supported U.S. President G. Bush's proposal this May regarding the establishment of a system of "open skies." What is the point of this idea? The point is that its implementation provides for unarmed aircraft flying over the territory of the USSR and the United States and also of their Warsaw Pact and NATO allies with a view to monitoring [kontrol] military activity as a large-scale confidence-building measure.

At present the U.S. initiative has only been outlined in most general terms and some time will be needed to concretize its content. Canada, for instance, has offered to hold consultations on this subject on its territory. For its part, the Soviet Union has expressed readiness to participate in this discussion. It is hard to say as yet how this discussion will go. But one should note now that the system of "open skies" must ensure the sides' equality irrespective of the level of development of their national surveillance systems and different geographical and other factors and the information obtained cannot be used to the detriment of the security of the side under observation.

It would be appropriate here to note that the "open skies" proposals, including openness in the sphere of military activity, were discussed at a conference of the chiefs of general (main) staff of the armed forces and deputy foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states which has just ended in Sofia. This illustrates that the Warsaw Pact countries are treating this idea very seriously.

But the following question arises. Why should confidence-building measures be established in the skies, ignoring the oceans, seas, land, and lastly space? If we open up the skies, why not open up other natural environments? For military activity is carried out on land, at sea, and in space. Why leave out this military activity? Glasnost, predictability, and openness cannot be selective. According to the Soviet Union, problems of openness must be examined in an integral fashion, as a single block, involving an ever-increasing number of states in this process.

The concept of global openness encompassing the skies, the ground, water, and space has not emerged from nothing. Both the Soviet Union, together with its Warsaw Pact allies, and our partners at the talks on a whole series of international security problems submitted a considerable number of proposals before this integral concept appeared—proposals that are entirely in line with this concept. Thus, the idea of "open ground" was reflected to a considerable degree in the Helsinki Final Act and in the final documents of the Madrid and

Stockholm conferences. Our recent proposals at the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and confidence building measures in Europe will serve as a new step in this sphere. They constitute a truly all-embracing plan for verifying reductions in troops and arms.

Confidence- and security-building measures encompassing all the territory of Europe and providing, inter alia, for notification of military activity, invitation of observers to exercises, exchange of plans for military activity, and inspections are already being implemented on the basis of decisions adopted in Helsinki, Madrid and Stockholm. Incidentally, Warsaw Pact organs have also proposed extending these measures to independent military activity carried out by air forces and navies. They have also put forward the idea of creating a zone of trust and security in Europe and exchanging information, including data on the numerical strength, structure, and deployment of ground forces, air forces, and navies. For their part, NATO countries have proposed creating a system of selective evaluation of the authenticity of information obtained from exchanges and have also proposed that the number and area of regions barred to diplomatic personnel be reduced.

Of course, "open skies" could also include other elements. For instance, the extension beyond Europe of the confidence-building measures currently under examination at the Vienna talks, notably to the Asian part of the USSR's territory and also to the territory of the United States, Canada, and third countries where NATO and Warsaw Pact states carry out any military activity. Other states that so desire could join in the "open ground" system. It is important to ensure that openness has no exceptions and closed windows.

In this connection I want to stress that the question of whether naval arms are encompassed by reductions and confidence-building measures arises here most acutely. The United States and NATO have the edge over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact in this sphere and want to retain this edge, avoiding talks on the limitation of naval arms. This cannot help but force us to assume that the other side has not given up the idea of securing military superiority using these arms.

The Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies have already submitted many concrete ideas. For instance, you may recall the proposals to extend confidence-building measures to naval activity—above all by the main naval powers—in the world's oceans, exchange information on fleet potential, provide notice of major naval exercises and redeployment of major naval formations, and invite observers to naval exercises and maneuvers.

Thus the groundwork has already been laid in this sphere and we only need the political will to form, approve, and begin to practically implement an integral concept.

There is also considerable groundwork in the sphere of "open space."

A number of major ideas have also been put forward here. I will mention the Soviet proposal to create an international system for verifying the nonsiting of weapons of any kind in space or the French project to set up an International Monitoring [kontrol] Satellite Agency—an idea which the Soviet Union developed by proposing the creation of an International Space Surveillance Agency—or the West German proposal to elaborate a code of behavior—a kind of space "user's code."

Of course, I have only succeeded in enumerating some—by no means all—of the components of a future global system. Obviously, new ideas, projects, and proposals will emerge as more states are drawn into the discussion, and this will enable a common integral policy of openness to be elaborated encompassing all natural spheres where military activity is carried out—in the skies, on the ground, on water, and in space. The implementation of such a policy would be an essential element of all-embracing international security—a world in which secret military preparations undermining trust and entailing a return to direct military confrontation would be impossible; and military confrontation is fraught with catastrophe for everyone.

West Resists USSR's Baltic Proposals

LD0211141189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Gennadiy Vedenyapin commentary]

[Text] Members of the Commission of Parliamentarians of Northern Countries have met in Copenhagen. They are studying the possibility of setting up a nonnuclear zone in the north of Europe. I think that the parliamentarians who have gathered in the Danish capital have had more than enough food for thought. After all, they are meeting almost immediately following Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Finland, where he gave a speech containing very important initiatives. His speech at the Great Hall of Finlandia Palace was, as it were, a logical continuation of his memorable speech 2 years ago in Murmansk. As early as then, the Soviet leader invited the states of the northern region to discuss matters of security, and to this day the measures proposed on the limitation and reduction of military activity in the region, including naval and air, remain in force.

This time the Soviet Union goes much further in its initiatives on ensuring peace and security in the northern region. Supporting the well-known initiative by Finland, which calls for the creation there of a nuclear-free zone, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev reported that our tactical nuclear weapons are deployed now in such a way that from no point in the Soviet Union can they reach the countries of this region. Moreover, our country is unilaterally beginning the destruction of certain categories of these sea-based weapons in the waters of the Baltic Sea. Submarines, which the West usually classifies as Golf, are being withdrawn from effective combat strength, and their nuclear-ready inventory will also be destroyed. We are unilaterally reducing our troop numbers, and already next year, the Soviet armed forces in the northern region will acquire a distinctly defensive nature.

Let me note that our country has long been calling for naval forces and, after all, we are talking of the Baltic, forces which are an important component of the military might of states and alliances, to become the subject of active international dialogue within the framework of arms reduction and disarmament. But in the West this appeal is, to put it mildly, getting a cool reception. The NATO bloc states assert that the risk of the outbreak of war is most probably on land. But is this really the case? On the contrary, it seems to me that this risk is far greater out on the open sea, where major groupings of the naval forces of the two alliances confront each other directly. Take the Baltic for instance. A major NATO grouping comprising 600 surface vessels is targeted at it. Sixty submarines of the FRG, Denmark, the Netherlands, Britain, and Sweden, engaged in gathering intelligence on our bases, in turn plough the Baltic Sea. Every year, the West holds up to 50 training exercises here, and yet, we are reducing our naval weapons.

Naturally, our latest initiative has been gratefully welcomed in the countries of the North, and I think this will be reflected during the Copenhagen meeting between parliamentarians. In the view of the Finnish organization, the Democratic Alternative, the measures to reduce the armed forces in the northern regions of the USSR, announced by the Soviet leader, demonstrate that there is indeed a marvellous opportunity for progress toward the creation a nuclear-free zone in the region. Unfortunately, as the first reactions from across the ocean already show, the West is so far stubbornly resisting agreeing with proposals about a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe. Well, these proposals are, indeed, so massive in scope that perhaps it is not that simple to take them in right away. Not without reason did Comrade Gorbachev call for them to be treated with the greatest circumspection, and to weigh up all sides of the matter in the most thorough manner. The realities of the world today urgently dictate that we can and should move toward meeting the desires of the people's of the north of Europe to turn their countries into a solid flank of the common European and world system of security.

NATO Still Committed to Strategy of Deterrence

PM3110112589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Kostanyan dispatch: "Still From Positions of 'Deterrence'"]

[Text] Lisbon—The southern Atlantic coast, deserted due to the long spell of bad weather, suddenly came to life. High-ranking guests—NATO countries' defense ministers—arrived overnight in Portugal's Algarve, which is renowned for its tourist complexes. The 46th session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group took place here, in the resort of Cinta do Lago, in the five-star hotel of the same name. For 2 days—24 and 25 October—the group examined the bloc's nuclear strategy for the immediate future.

What conclusion did the NATO ministers reach? The first and perhaps the main one is as follows: It is too early to make any substantial changes to existing NATO concepts since the "deterrence doctrine" is not yet outmoded. The first few lines of the final communique indicate this. It reaffirms "commitment to NATO's strategy of deterrence, which is based on the correct combination of appropriate and effective nuclear and conventional forces, which will continue to be modernized as necessary." With regard to nuclear forces, it goes on to say that "for the foreseeable future ground-, sea-, and air-launched systems, including ground-launched missiles, will be needed in Europe."

The question arises: Has NATO listened hard enough to the Soviet initiatives aimed at reducing both nuclear and conventional arms and how does what was said at the Nuclear Planning Group session tie up with the progress that was made, say, at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Wyoming? Or with the forward movement observed at the conventional arms talks in Vienna?

The answers were to some extent provided both in the communique and in verbal explanations during a meeting with journalists at the close of the session. Certainly, journalists were told, we carefully follow the words and actions of the Soviet leadership and we discussed them at our meeting. We are delighted and encouraged by the changes in the policy of the Soviet Union and its partners. But it is still too early to fully trust the East's peaceful aspirations. The Warsaw Pact forces retain their offensive orientation and we reaffirm our long-term pledges to maintain the NATO nuclear arsenal at what we consider to be the level of quantity and quality needed for an effective retaliatory strike and for ensuring our security. That is the NATO military leadership's argument, in a nutshell.

All this was backed up by reproaches against the Soviet Union, which, NATO defense ministers believe, is continuing to modernize its nuclear hardware and is correspondingly improving its offensive potential.

The heads of the NATO military departments did not overlook the recent statement by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze, describing it as promising and hopeful with regard to future East-West relations. They refrained from more specific assessments and proposals, citing the need for time for reflection. Moreover, U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney's explanations indicated that the United States has no intention of abandoning implementation of its military programs, notably SDI. Incidentally, the Portuguese press mentioned that the Americans brought new ideas regarding the development of the "Star Wars" program to this session. The Bush administration, for instance, DIARIO DE NOTICIAS noted, will press ahead with research despite restrictions on military appropriations.

Although, Portugal's Defense Minister E. de Melo, who addressed a press conference, wholly supported the NATO strategy, the Portuguese press described it as excessively direct and said that it is still based on strong-arm pressure and does not consider the new elements in international relations. It is claimed that some countries' delegations (above all the FRG and Holland) do not assess the situation in Europe as categorically as the U.S. and British representatives and sought and proposed acceptable compromises at the meeting here. However, the debate, if there really was one, remained closed to many journalists, at any rate those whose countries are not members of the bloc. The general impression was that the North Atlantic alliance abides by its former positions and those who expect a more constructive approach from the NATO defense ministers will have to postpone their hopes until at least next spring, when they will hold their 47th routine session in Canada.

Arms Cuts, Conflicts Viewed at Pittsburgh Forum

LD0311092889 Moscow TASS in English 0835 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, November 3 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Igor Makurin and Yuriy Ustimenko:

Nuclear and conventional arms limitation and cuts, the role of great powers in the settlement of regional conflicts and other urgent problems of our time were debated at the fifth conference of the Soviet and American public at the University of Pittsburgh on Thursday.

Participants in the discussion expressed a mutual desire for productive cooperation in the resolution of problems that worry the two countries' peoples.

The United States and the Soviet Union have made considerable progress at the talks on arms control, primarily concerning nuclear arms. The agenda of talks continuously broadens, covering ever new problems, said Brigadier-General Nels Running, a spokesman for the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The times we are living through can be said to be promising. Prospects for nuclear arms limitation and reduction through the elaboration of long-term and mutually acceptable, verifiable agreements are becoming clearer. They are the best they've been since nuclear weapons were invented, he said.

We must not miss the historic opportunity that the new level of Soviet-American relations and understanding affords us, the general added.

A new level of trust in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States must be achieved in order to strengthen security and reduce the risk of war, said Major-General Anatoliy Bolyadko, a spokesman for the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The new Soviet large-scale initiatives, he pointed out, are opening up prospects for headway in arms limitation and reduction.

"We are prepared for serious joint work on the basis of mutual understanding on all arms control issues," he said.

Paul Wolfowitz, U.S. undersecretary of defence, focussed on regional conflicts which, in his view, occupy as important a place on the agenda of Soviet-American talks as nuclear arms control.

Wolfowitz made unfriendly remarks about Afghanistan, the Democratic Korea, Cuba, and Nicaragua, pointing out that Soviet aid to these countries does not correspond to the new thinking in Soviet foreign policy.

Touching upon regional problems, Soviet representative Nikolay Shishlin said: "We are in need of cooperation, primarily. We should energetically promote a settlement of regional conflicts by peaceful means for the benefit of the peoples of our two countries and peace on earth."

He emphasised the need for the Soviet Union and the United States to abandon old hostility and rivalry and to become partners, thus serving the interests of the whole of makind.

Commission Meets, Discusses International Policy

PM0311121389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Sitting of CPSU Central Committee Commission on International Policy Questions"]

[Text] A sitting of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on International Policy Questions has been held. It examined the progress in implementing ideas and initiatives in the field of international relations put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. It was noted that they essentially laid the foundation to present Soviet Asian and Pacific doctrine which accords with the spirit and principles of the new political thinking, the USSR's long-term national and state interests, and real trends and processes in this part of the world.

During the exchange of opinions emphasis was placed on the important significance of the Soviet Union's practical steps, which have made it possible substantially to improve our relations with the majority of countries in the Asian and Pacific region. The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations as a result of the meeting between the two countries' top leaders in Beijing is of historic importance. All-around ties with friendly India have been further developed. The level and intensiveness of political dialogue with the ASEAN countries have increased.

The complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the elimination, by agreement with the United States, of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles in the Asian part of the USSR, the reduction by 200,000 men which has begun to the grouping of Soviet troops in the Eastern regions of our country, and the withdrawal to their national territory of 75 percent of the Soviet military contingent temporarily stationed in Mongolia have made a substantial contribution to the consolidation of peace and stability.

The "spirit of Vladivostok" has had normalizing influence on the overall situation in the vast region adjacent to the Pacific Ocean and has promoted progress in the peaceful and just disentanglement of the knots of tension and the quest for optimum solutions to military-political, economic, ecological, and other problems.

Information was heard on the course of the fulfillment of previously taken decisions on the implementation of the Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk initiatives. In this connection attention was drawn to the need for additional efforts for the restructuring of international relations in the region and in the interests of peace, security, and cooperation, particularly for the expansion of specific dialogue on problems of disarmament and military detente. It was noted with anxiety that the slow restructuring of foreign economic relations is delaying the socioeconomic development of the Eastern regions of the USSR and the Soviet Union's effective participation in cooperation with the countries of the region. Critical mention was made of manifestations of passivity and inertia in fulfilling a number of instructions from party and state organs. The commission recommended that the Communist leaders of the organizations concerned should further examine the questions connected with this and take measures for the responsible implementation of the line which has been elaborated.

The sitting examined questions connected with the preparation of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Italy as one more major step in deepening all-European progress and cooperation on the continent and in the world. There was a discussion of measures promoting the creation of as favorable as possible an atmosphere for the visit.

There was an exchange of opinions on questions of the development of contacts between the CPSU and the social democratic parties and other left-wing forces. The commission has planned to discuss the question thoroughly at one of its sittings in the very near future.

There was a discussion of other questions stemming from the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee and the tasks of deepening the Soviet Union's cooperation with the socialist, capitalist, and developing countries.

The following took part in the discussion, which took place under the chairmanship of A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: CPSU Central Committee Secretary Yu.A. Manayenkov; commission members S.F. Akhromeyev, B.T. Batsanov, Ye.P. Velikhov, V.M. Kamentsev, A.G. Kovalev, I.D. Laptev, R.N. Nishanov, G.V. Novozhilov, G.I. Ulanov, B.M. Falin, and A.S. Chernyayev; F.A. Tabeyev, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers; R.P. Fedorov and Yu.I. Zuyev, deputy chiefs of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; Yu.P. Khomenko, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; Yu.A. Pekshev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission; N.F. Chervov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff contract and legal administration; and G.V. Kireyev, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Asian socialist countries administration.

Soviet Parliamentarians Meet Perez De Cuellar

LD0511133489 Moscow TASS in English 1203 GMT 5 Nov 89

[Text] New York November 5 TASS—Representatives of the Soviet public delegation, who took part in the fifth conference of Soviet and U.S. public on bilateral and international relations at the University of Pittsburgh, visited the U.N. headquarters on Saturday. The delegation met with Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar.

During the meeting Valentina Tereshkova, head of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies, Veniamin Yakovlev, Soviet justice minister, and Academician Konstantin Frolov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, expressed satisfaction with the cooperation which has been recently established between the Soviet Union and the United Nations. The Soviet MPs briefed Perez de Cuellar on the results of the conference.

The Soviet delegation and Perez de Cuellar held a substantive discussion on human rights. In particular, it was noted that the Soviet Union was the first to deliver its report at the human rights committee in Geneva, which set a new standard in the approach to discussing such issues. This underlines the new approach of the Soviet Union to the United Nations and the approach of the world body to the Soviet Union, Yakovlev told TASS.

"We can feel the usefulness of the United Nations, especially in tackling restructuring problems in our country, because its ideas are in full conformity with the main ideas of U.N. work. We told the U.N. secretary-general about the activities of the Union of Friendship Societies, its active involvement in U.N. activities and hope that cooperation will become even closer," Tereshkova said.

The U.N. secretary-general told the Soviet parliamentarians about priority problems in the work of the world body. These include nature conservation, regional conflicts, drug trafficking and international terrorism, and some problems in the work of the international court. In conclusion Perez de Cuellar gave a high appraisal of the Soviet Union's constructive proposals aimed at enhancing U.N. efficiency and standing in international affairs.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Namibia Controversy

PM0611152389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[Unattributed report: "USSR Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Statement"]

[Text] At a briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center 3 November, a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman commented on South African Foreign Minister R. Botha's statement in Pretoria recently.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said: In the statement R. Botha publicly asserted that Southwest African People's Organization [SWAPO] armed forces were trying to cross from Angola to Namibia and as a result South Africa had placed its armed forces on full combat readiness. He stated that unless this is stopped there cannot be free and fair elections in Namibia. However the South African foreign minister did not cite any reliable facts to justify such a hasty decision.

Reacting to this statement, M. Ahtisaari, the UN Secretary General's special representative in Namibia, stressed that he has no evidence of the presence of SWAPO forces in the region of the Angolan-Namibian border. The SWAPO leadership in Windhoek also resolutely denied any military preparations on its part.

The question is why Pretoria needed all this and if it had any doubts why did it prefer to make a move in public without immediately bringing into operation the control and verification mechanism specially created for such occasions, namely the Ad Hoc Committee on Southwest Africa. We have asked Pretoria this: Why was the control mechanism not set in operation?

Such actions by South Africa merely aggravate the already difficult situation in Namibia on the eve of the elections. You get the impression that this is yet another attempt to cast a slur on SWAPO and to instill doubts in the voters regarding its commitment to the UN plan.

The Soviet Union believes that everything necessary should be done to create a normal and calm atmosphere for the elections in Namibia.

United States & Canada

PRAVDA Looks Forward to December Meeting

PM0611165689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[Anatoliy Karpychev article under the rubric "The View From Moscow": "The December Meeting"]

[Text] The meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush, scheduled for December, is still the number one news item even today, a week after its simultaneous announcement in Moscow and Washington. The meeting is envisaged as an interim, unofficial meeting, and will take the form of an absolutely free dialogue. The two leaders want to get to know one another better and form a deeper understanding of each other's views.

This fact seems to me to be very important, because if I am not mistaken, such things do not often happen in world experience of summit meetings. And indeed we ourselves, without intending to do so, have, in a way, denied the heads of state and government the right to ordinary human contact and expected their meetings to produce crucial agreements without fail, losing sight once again of the fact that the path to such agreements lies through contacts, trust, and the need, metaphorically, to "look each other in the eye."

One can understand all this, but nonetheless the news of a meeting without a specific agenda came as a great surprise at least to many observers on both sides of the Atlantic. After all, in Wyoming, apparently, the foreign ministers—both American and Soviet—talked everything over and planned a full-scale summit meeting for late spring or early summer next year. But not a word was said about this Mediterranean meeting in the official documents.

It is not surprising that the announcement of the interim meeting prompted a flurry of questions in both Moscow and Washington. At a White House press conference the President virtually had to beat back the besieging journalists who wanted to know the agenda. The President spent a long time explaining.

"We will talk," G. Bush finally said, "about whatever we like. A meeting without an agenda. Please, calm down."

But the journalists did not calm down. They mentioned possible items for discussion at the meeting, and waited for the President to answer. "The economy, perhaps?" "Some of the ideas of Soviet perestroyka?" The theme of "getting to know one another better" clearly was not to the journalists' liking. They thought something was being concealed from them. "But listen," G. Bush eventually exclaimed, "we will meet as often or as seldom as we need to."

If anyone had told us a few years ago that a U.S. President would say those words, no one would have believed them. So much has changed in the world. We are rapidly growing accustomed to these changes. It is easy to get used to good things, hard to learn to do without them. And this meeting in the Mediterranean seems to reinforce a very noteworthy trend.

In Decmeber 1987 M.S. Gorbachev went on his first visit to the United States, and last year in December he addressed the United Nations. And now again a December meeting. Why not, I wonder, retain the December schedule in future? Say, at the end of the year the heads of our two states sum up the results of the work done, resolve the bottlenecks, and take a look at next year. Why not?

The announcement of the meeting did not only elicit positive responses. The American press recalls that back in September G. Bush was not advising "hurrying to a summit meeting." A number of U.S. observers noted that the new President, unlike R. Reagan, will adhere to a more skeptical and less "romantic" approach to Gorbachev, and that the White House is opposed to meetings with no agenda and considers them ill-considered. What about these assertions? Have they been abandoned? In short, there is food for thought.

It seems to me that the meeting in the Mediterranean, although it was announced unexpectedly, was prepared for, by degrees, by the course of events. Here one should recall the meeting of the USSR and U.S. foreign ministers in Wyoming, the hearings at the USSR Supreme Soviet of the review of the course of and prospects for implementation of our country's foreign policy, the debate which is under way in the top echelons of power in Washington concerning the U.S. attitude to our perestroyka, and the changes in various regions of the planet.

In our complex, interconnected world major shifts, new winds of trust, and an upsurge of reason can be sensed. But there are still skeptics everywhere. Only recently a note appeared in the margin of Secretary of State J. Baker's report, in which he expressed wishes for the success of the Soviet perestroyka; the note, as one American newspaper reported, was by B. Scowcroft, the U.S. President's national security adviser, and read: "Extreme euphoria."

A joke? I do not think so. It reflects a position. Recently, in my view, there has not been a united opinion in the Bush team on how to behave with regard to the USSR. It is not a question of their having any great love for us. We are not by any means asking them to praise us. It is a question of their understanding us and forming an honest opinion of us. Trusting us.

Not to trust is the simplest course. Here no new political thinking is needed. But trust is necessary. If there is one thing we lack, it is trust. President Reagan was often asked: "Do you trust Gorbachev?" Now they are asking President Bush: "Do you trust the Soviet Union?"

"Trust is of great significance today," Bush replied.

So an event of exceptional importance lies ahead. We do not yet know all the details of how it will be held. One thing is clear—it will have no specific agenda, and will take the form of a free dialogue, with the smallest possible number of journalists. I do not think we will take offense at that. We will sincerely wish the meeting success.

TASS Preview of Meeting

LD0311140189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1245 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 3 Nov (TASS)—Dmitriy Yakubov, TASS observer writes:

The report on the forthcoming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush at the beginning of December has evoked the most animated response in the world. Many suggestions of various kind are being voiced with regard to the objectives and tasks of this meeting. This question is being actively debated also because the present meeting is not seen as an official "summit," but that it will have unofficial character since the sides wittingly agreed not to define the agenda beforehand. At the same time, everyone has in mind the position of President Bush—"no agenda, no summit meeting."

An opinion is being voiced that the decision to hold the meeting is a result of sufficiently sharp criticism directed at the U.S. Administration, which rather delayed the definition of its foreign policy strategy on the Soviet Union. According to the other point of view Washington is not showing sufficient boldness in its approach to significant and very dynamic changes occurring in the world, not to mention the changes in the Soviet Union and the countries of East Europe. Both points of view, evidently, have some foundation.

Of course, they can be contended, it is possible not to agree with them. But another thing is much more important. The leaders of two very major states, on whose interrelations, it may be boldly asserted, the fate of the world depends, have decided to meet to discuss a whole range of problems of mutual interest. It is hard to overestimate the significance of this event.

Holding meetings and discussing questions of mutual interest on various levels, including the highest level, have become one of the important elements of the practice of the new thinking in international relations. The positive significance and productiveness of such meetings and discussions have already been proved on more than one occasion. This also applies to Soviet-U.S. relations. Constant meetings at the level of the USSR and U.S. foreign ministers have made it possible to become better acquainthed with each other's positions and to take steps forward to bring the positions closer together. This can also be applied to the Soviet-U.S. summit meetings which have already taken place in recent years and which have been marked on a number of occasions by noticeable progress and even by breakthroughs in disarmament issues.

It is precisely the results of such meetings which have brought about the positive reaction with which the news of this meeting was met in the capitals of various states. The agency UPI calls the accord reached by the leaders of the USSR and the United States "unprecedented." At the same time, it is justifiably pointed out that the forthcoming meeting will aid the creation of a favorable atmosphere for the Soviet-U.S. summit and progress in relations between the two great countries. In the opinion of observers the summit meeting bears witness to the readiness of the U.S. President to normalize relations with the USSR which throughout the lifetime of a whole generation has been represented by Americans in the image of the enemy.

"I am awaiting this meeting with hope," President George Bush declared at a press conference on 1 November. Hopes for the good fruits which the forthcoming meeting will bear, are also nourished by Soviet people.

Bush on Improving U.S.-USSR Trade Relations

LD0511111889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0405 GMT 5 Nov 89

[Text] New York, 5 Nov (TASS)—An improvement in the trade and economic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union is a quite likely prospect, according to the opinion of U.S. President George Bush. I can foresee the day when our economic relations with the Soviet Union will be much better—he stated in an interview which is issued in the state of Texas—as you know, partially this is connected with the political changes taking place.

Yet the head of the White House has not began to elucidate what steps the administration intends to take in this direction. In reply to a question about the possibility of providing economic aid to the Soviet Union, he said: "When you are involved with such a, shall we say, delicate issue, as the conception of good relations, we do not want devote the main place in this process to actions which would create the impression that we wanted to save someone.

Cheney Statements on Soviet Policy Viewed

PM0611135589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[V. Korionov "rejoinder": "Coat for the Secretary"]

[Text] "Excellent news" was how the mass media of many countries described the report on the forthcoming meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush. Everywhere the hope is being voiced that this unofficial meeting will help to increase trust between the two great powers. But efforts by both countries are needed to achieve this level of relations. In this connection the statements which have been issuing recently from the lips of R. Cheney cannot fail to attract attention.

The Pentagon chief used his recent tour of West European NATO countries to sow distrust in the USSR's policy and intentions. For instance, giving an interview to the Italian newspaper CORRIERE DELLA SERA, he announced: "I am not skeptical about the Soviet Union's desire for detente but I have no confidence in its evolution." Reluctantly admitting that the USSR's intentions "may have changed," Cheney made a strenuous attempt to convince Europeans that "the USSR's military power has essentially remained unchanged" and for that reason "there is scarcely any point in changing our common strategy during the game."

Nor did the U.S. secretary like the steps aimed at building peace and concord in Europe. "The common European home," he announces, "seems to me a premature idea."

The leader of the U.S. military department does not like the fact that the number of legislators advocating curbing the Pentagon's appetites and improving Soviet-U.S. relations is growing on the Capitol hill. "Many of them," he states with displeasure, "believe that a real threat has ceased to exist. That is like people taking off their coats on a sunny day in January."

As we can see, the secretary himself is prepared to keep on his old warm "coat" cut back in the time of the "cold war" in any weather and at any time of year.

CIA Data for USSR Defense Spending Noted

PM0611164189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[PRAVDA-TASS report under the general heading "News Extracts for 3 November"]

[Text] The CIA's publshed estimates of Soviet defense spending, which to a large extent serve as a guideline in the formation of the U.S. military budget, are riddled with mistakes and distortions. This is pointed out in an article in the journal INTERNATIONAL SECURITY by Franklyn Holzman, professor of economics at Tufts University. He supports his conclusions with numerous examples. "If you make adjustments for the mistakes and distortions contained in the CIA's estimates of Soviet military spending, the figure will be very close to the R77.3 billion announced by M.S. Gorbachev on 30 May," the U.S. Professor stresses. "This is much lower than the CIA's estimate."

Congress Committee Approves U.S. Military Budget

PM0611142189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Draft Budget Approved"]

[Text] Washington, 3 Nov—After almost 2 months of strenuous debate the U.S Congress Conference Committee has approved a U.S. military budget for Fiscal 1990 worth R305 billion. It now has to be scrutinized by the Senate and House of Representatives.

The agreed-upon version of the Pentagon budget sets appropriations for the "Star Wars" program at $3.55 billion, which is $200 million less than in Fiscal 1989. This is the first cut in strategic defense initiative appropriations since President Reagan announced the commencement of work to create a "space shield" in 1983.

The draft budget also provides for the appropriation of around $1.1 billion for the deployment on flatcars of MX strategic missiles fitted with 10 independently targeted nuclear warheads and mobile Midgetman missiles armed with one nuclear warhead. Compared with the White House request, the appropriations have been cut by $150 million. Discussion of this question generated the fiercest debate in the Conference Commission. Four of its Democrat members even refused to sign the endorsed version of the draft budget, stating that there is no need for the United States to finance the simultaneous deployment of two strategic missile systems and that Congress should refuse altogether to appropriate funds for the Midgetman missiles.

It has also been decided to allocate funds for the construction of only two new B-2 Stealth strategic bombers, rather than three as the administration had requested. The cost of each aircraft stands in excess of $530 million.

As a whole, it is believed that the compromise reached will be approved by Congress without any special problems, although individual articles in the draft law will probably be criticized during the coming debates.

U.S. Defense Bill Viewed

LD0411033189 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] The Senate and the House of Representatives have approved a defense bill for this fiscal year. A commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov:

The bill proposed $305 billion for defense. This is more than in the fiscal year that ended in September and all military programs are retained, by and large. In other words, everything done in the United States in this respect at the height of East-West confrontation is planned to be left intact.

Such an approach has evoked much criticism in the Congress. For one thing, the House voted down the administration's proposal to finance two programs as one: one on MX nuclear strategic missiles, the other on Midgetman missiles. However, the bill provides for funds on both programs. Peculiarly, on some weapons the administration received even more than it had asked for. Despite its request, the bill envisages continuing the manufacture of a number of warplanes.

However, reductions on some programs, like SDI for instance, can hardly be regarded as significant. Although the required sum is cut by $1,100,000,000, this guarantees the continuation of the program at the existing level.

As for the manufacture of the B-2 Stealth bomber, the Pentagon has received virtually all it wanted.

Perhaps the only appreciation of the time in the bill is the reduction of American troops in Europe by 15,000 men—those who service the missiles being scrapped in line with the INF Treaty—but this step is very insignificant.

The INF accord can be regarded as a symbol of changes. Perestroyka in the USSR and renewal processes in Eastern Europe have fundamentally changed the international situation. This makes it possible to look anew at the whole range of issues on military expenditures and programs. The Soviet Union has already cut its troops by more than 200,000 men in Europe alone. The USSR and its allies have slashed their spendings on defense and arms production. In the light of the changes, people everywhere, the United States included, are wondering if the United States has been doing enough to take reciprocal steps, to use the opportunities for cooperation opened up by perestroyka in the USSR.

Those questions can't help bothering the Americans following the approval of the bill on defense.

Kozyakov Analyzes, Comments on U.S. Nuclear Policy

LD0511173189 Moscow World Service in English 1510 GMT 5 Nov 89

[Text] American-Australian consultations ended in Sydney on Saturday, [4 November] and involved the foreign and defense ministers of the two countries. Vladislav Kozyakov comments.

[Kozyakov] Fifty antinuclear protestors gathered at the Watson Naval Base, where the consultations were held, and chanted anti-American slogans. Of course, the participants in the talks might have overlooked this, nonetheless the discussion of nuclear strategy issues was not that smooth at all. As has been reported, the Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans twice approached U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on how America could soften its attitude toward New Zealand. The relations between the United States and New Zealand complicated because of the latter country's refusal to allow American nuclear capable ships visit its ports, however Mr Baker ruled that out. [sentence as received] He confirmed that in the future, too, Washington would never report on which ships there were nuclear weapons. In his words—other allies rely on that policy.

What matters most of all, of course, is that the United States is clearly unwilling to modify its nuclear policy, worked out in conditions altogether different than those of today. Perhaps in the past there were reasons for a global confrontation course. Not all actions by the East and by the West, too, were in the spirit of trust and mutual understanding. However, now the situation is altogether different. Perestroyka in the USSR and renewal in the other socialist countries have made the political climate better. As both sides acknowledged at the talks in Wyoming, Soviet-American relations were at a new stage and since that is so the issues of strategy cannot be approached by old methods, both in Europe and elsewhere in the world.

Indicatively, Mr Evans said at the consultations that the world was undergoing a fundamental change and called on the United States to react quickly to what is taking place in the USSR and other socialist countries. However the impression is that when concrete issues were brought up, the American delegation reacted too slowly. This holds true of not only the nuclear strategy, that has remained unchanged since the cold war times. For one thing American representatives failed to dispel Australia's fears over the intentions to leave two of American chemical agents for some time after signing a chemical weapons ban treaty. Gareth Evans suggested that the United States should support the Soviet Union's being given observer status at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, but James Baker, who recently spoke about the United States' intention to give the USSR technical assistance in economic reform, said this time that there were still too many problems with a centralized Soviet economy for it to join Western financial organizations.

The participants in the consultations in Sydney favorably assessed their discussions, and yet still more could have been achieved for the sake of making international relations more harmonious in the region and elsewhere in the world.

PRAVDA Reports Soviet-U.S. UN Draft Resolution

PM0611142989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Linnik: "New Beginning"]

[Text] New York—The participants in the press conference at the UN headquarters called the draft of the joint Soviet-U.S. resolution on peace, security, and international cooperation a "historic event." None of those present could remember the last time a resolution had appeared in the United Nations with the two signatures of representatives of the USSR and the United States.

The joint Soviet-U.S. statement to mark the publication of the draft resolution says that it is perhaps not the specific formulations which are the main thing in it but the fact that it symbolizes a new beginning in the United Nations—a new spirit of cooperation. The resolution demonstrates to the other UN states the importance of rejecting the tendentious polemics which have been so customary for the United Nations in the past.

The resolution reflects the intention of the USSR and the United States to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations in strengthening international peace and cooperation. It urges the UN members to conduct consultations and cooperation within the framework of the United Nations, the Security Council, the General

Assembly, and their relevant auxiliary organs to find multilateral approaches and to implement the principles enshrined in the UN Charter.

The joint work on the draft resolution, the press conference noted, demonstrates the readiness of the Soviet Union and the United States to continue the mood for joint activity, expressed during the meeting in Wyoming between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker.

It is planned to submit the draft resolution to a plenary session of the UN General Assembly.

Threatened Bombing of UN Mission Thwarted

LD0311134889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] U.S. law enforcement organizations detained two terrorists who threatened to cause an explosion at the residence of the Soviet UN representation in Glencove.

It has been established that the detainees were also nurturing ideas of subversion on the PLO's premises. (Bennenfeld), one of the terrorists, planned to set up a group of fighters, the nature of which would be even more bellicose than the Jewish Defense League.

Deputy Premier Nikitin Receives U.S. Farmers Leader

PM0611163989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 89 4 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] On 3 November V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Professor D. Thomas, vice president of the U.S. Farmers' Council and president and general director of the U.S. Cooperative Institute.

There was a detailed conversation on the cooperative movement, on Soviet and U.S. experience, and on ways to expand cooperation in the agrarian sector.

Seismologist Queried on Cooperation With U.S.

PM0611161589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with Academician V. Keylis-Borok by Kim Smirnov: "No Cause for Celebration Yet. Soviet-U.S. Studies Made it Possible to Forecast the San Francisco Earthquake"—no place, date of interview given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] The next sitting of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium will discuss a report by Academician V. Keylis-Borok on the prospects for earthquake forecasting. An IZVESTIYA correspondent met with him. It is well known that the recent San Francisco earthquake resulted in relatively few casualties and little destruction. Emergency services and antiseismic construction methods in the United States did not let anyone down. But there is another aspect to the matter. Readiness for an earthquake could be significantly enhanced if there is advance knowledge—even if only approximate—of its time and place. Such a forecast was actually produced in the course of Soviet-U.S. scientific cooperation on northern California.

[Smirnov] Vladimir Isaakovich! You are one of the authors of this forecast. On what scientific ideas is it based?

[Keylis-Borok] On the ideas of modern nonlinear dynamics and its concepts of chaos and collective behavior.

The forecasting methodology being jointly elaborated by USSR and U.S. scientists is based on observations of common phenomena which precede unexpected changes in geological faults and in many other chaotic and potentially unstable systems (chemical, biological, and even socioeconomic ones). The new methodology also reflects the latest achievements of modern geology, primarily the interaction between solid and fluid components of the earth's crust.

But it must be emphasized: Our methodology is still at the experimental stage and is far from perfect. The bulk of the work is yet to be done.

[Smirnov] Was your forecast put to any specific use by the California authorities?

[Keylis-Borok] I have no information to this effect. But, to all intents and purposes, such forecasts can be used. This does, however, require the existence of a statewide system to combat natural disasters. This does exist in the United States. Such a system is now in the process of being created in the USSR, with serious material and intellectual efforts channeled in this direction. A USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergency Situations was created to coordinate this work.

[Smirnov] Earlier this year Academician N. Laverov claimed in our newspaper that, in today's conditions, it is impossible to make short-term forecasts of destructive earthquakes...

[Keylis-Borok] This is a matter not of short-term but of medium-term forecasts, which are being "validated": Their accuracy is in terms of years and hundreds of kilometers.

Some time ago, Nobel Prize winner Academician L. Kantorovich, jointly with a group of staffers of our Earth Physics Institute, suggested a system making it possible to effect protection from earthquakes on the basis of earthquake forecasting, taking into account the degree of its real accuracy, even if it was not too high. An incremental scale of such measures was proposed. Some were calculated in terms of years (reinforcing buildings, training the population, organizing salvage teams, setting up recovery reserves), while others aimed at an immediate response (evacuating the population, shutting down and dismantling dangerous facilities like, for example, chemical industry enterprises).

L. Kantorovich proposed that these measures be stepped up or down, depending on the time interval and territory where the forecast indicates that an earthquake may be expected. His ideas are now being implemented.

This system is fully in line with the essence of the problem of earthquake forecasting. It boils down to the consistent and stage-by-stage determination of their location and timing. So far, systematic success has been achieved only in medium-term forecasting.

[Smirnov] Speaking in Strasbourg last summer, M.S. Gorbachev invited the world's scientists to join the work of the International Institute for the Theory of Earthquake Forecasting and Mathematical Geophysics being created in the USSR. What prompted the creation of this institute, and what will it be doing?

[Keylis-Borok] Algorithms developed jointly by us and U.S. scientists are being successfully tested in various seismic regions.

This is part of a single global experiment, which provides practical tests of our algorithms for medium-term earthquake forecasting. There are 30 scientists from 12 countries, including the United States, Italy, France, India, Pakistan, Canada, Peru, and others, taking part in this work.

This is logically incorporated in the Decade To Combat Natural Disasters proclaimed by the United Nations, or rather in its scientific program organized by the International Council of Scientific Unions.

By way of a slogan for all this work, including the new institute's work, I would cite the words by the famous U.S. physicist J. Wiesner that ecological and natural disasters "have become the moral equivalent of war; they are as much a threat to mankind's survival as Hitler, Stalin, or nuclear weapons were in the past... Only international efforts can cope with this threat."

Earthquakes have never before been of prime concern for mankind and world science. Pride of place was held by epidemics, wars, and economic depressions. But now our vulnerability to earthquakes has sharply increased. There is a greater concentration of population in seismically dangerous regions. Dangerous facilities like nuclear power stations and chemical production units have appeared. Finally, gigantic cities are destroying the ground beneath themselves and are becoming seismically dangerous—like New York, Rome, and Kiev.

[Smirnov] And how about Moscow?

[Keylis-Borok] Not so much Moscow. Nonetheless, whereas there were times when its bells rang and lampshades shook after Carpathian earthquakes in the past, now we can expect damage to flimsy buildings, power supply lines, and the gas supply network.

It is in order to strengthen cooperation between scientists from different countries in this sphere that the USSR Academy of Sciences is setting up the International Institute for the Theory of Earthquake Forecasting and Mathematical Geophysics.

[Smirnov] Are you satisfied with the results obtained so far in earthquake forecasting?

[Keylis-Borok] Oh, no! Our specific sphere so far has absolutely no cause for celebration and congratulations for success, bearing in mind the tragedies which result in the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives which we are still unable to prevent. But there are grounds for hope, because the initial and still modest results are already enabling us to take protective measures, even though they are by no means exhaustive.

[Smirnov] And what do we need to accelerate progress in this sphere?

[Keylis-Borok] Primarily to better understand the causes of earthquakes and to elaborate the fundamental theory of this process. It is still lacking, to all intents and purposes.

For a long time work on earthquake forecasting was mainly geared to expanding the observation system. The California earthquake gave us clear proof of how inadequate this is. It happened in the heart of the world's most powerful observation system with thousands of monitors, telemetry instruments, and full computerization. And the forecasts obtained by traditional methods were very vague: A 30-percent probability of an earthquake within 20 years; a 50-percent probability of a more powerful one within 30 years...

The new Soviet-U.S. methodology produces much more definite results—roughly speaking, an 80-percent probability within 5 years. So far we have been able to use only a small proportion of the observations but, to compensate, we did rely on new theoretical ideas.

This does not at all mean that we do not have to develop our pitifully weak observation system.

Now there is a real possibility to rapidly boost the availability of technical equipment for our observations: The government supported our membership of the International Federation of Numerical Seismological Networks, and we could host this federation's stations. But I would like to emphasize the role played by the fundamental core of science.

U.S. Parcel Service Sets Up in Moscow, Leningrad

PM0611105989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch: "UPS on Its Way to Us"]

[Excerpts] An event has occurred in the United States which has gone almost unnoticed in the American press, but which is of undoubted interest to us. The United Parcel Service [UPS] company, the biggest firm in the United States for the urgent delivery of parcels and documents, has announced that it will open offices in Leningrad and Moscow. It is starting operations in the GDR, Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union in mid-November. A contract has been signed with our "Sovtransavto" foreign trade association to start up an express postal service.

In connection with the growth in volume of business correspondence and trade contacts between Soviet and U.S. organizations, UPS considered it possible to extend the area it serves and add another 4 countries to the 175 it already operates in today.

The vice president of the company, L. Long, announcing the beginning of operations in the Soviet Union at a news conference, said:

"This is an important step for UPS and it symbolizes the global nature of our business... There is no doubt that the growing interest of American companies in business links with the Soviet Union has led us to this decision." [passage omitted]

UPS has put $1.5 billion just into the latest technology, which enables them to speed up the processing of post to the maximum degree. A computer system will allow the firm to sharply increase the speed at which parcels transit customs by notifying the customs authorities in advance about their contents.

"How much will it cost to send, for example, one parcel from the United States to the Soviet Union?" I asked V. Schmitz, a regional manager of the company in Louisville.

"Forty-seven dollars. It will be delivered to the client in 2 or 3 days. The main base in Europe for sending parcels across the ocean will be Cologne Airport."

"Forty-seven dollars—isn't that a bit expensive?"

"As a matter of fact, our slogan is the best service at the lowest cost. Bearing in mind our expenses, our profit is really quite small," Schmitz said.

"How will Soviet organizations pay for the service?"

"We always accept local currency. In addition, it is our practice to always employ local personnel," the manager explained.

"They are also paid in rubles," he said quickly, as if anticipating the next question. "I must say that all our managers and packers are also our concern."

And so, brownish-beige vans emblazoned with the three letters UPS will soon be seen on Moscow and Leningrad streets.

Apparently we should be pleased... And nevertheless, a sharp feeling of dissatisfaction is tainting this latest innovation. There is one reason for this: Why didn't we hit on this idea, why aren't we doing this ourselves? The one answer seems obvious: We have no initial capital. [passage omitted]

China

CPC Plenum Opening on 6 Nov Noted

OW0711054989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] According to a dispatch from Beijing, the 5th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee opened on 6 November. The central issue is China's economic situation.

According to (?THE SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST) published in Hong Kong, the plenary session will discuss a number of organizational questions, including the selection of several new members to the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau. The paper believes that Zhu Rongji, mayor of Shanghai, China's biggest city, and secretary of the municipal party committee, and Zou Jiahua, minister of machine-building and electronics industry, may (?be elected members of the Political Bureau). Western observers believe that both men support pragmatic principles, are faithful to the policy of reform, and advocate expanding relations with other countries.

October Revolution Marked in Beijing

OW0711081889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] A soiree to mark the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was held in Beijing on 6 November. It was sponsored by the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Association. Present at the soiree were Wu Xiuquan, president of the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Association; Han Xu, a leading member of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries; and Ai Zhisheng, minister of radio, cinema, and television. Also present were Soviet Ambassador to China Troyanovskiy and some members of the Soviet Embassy staff.

Chinese Delegation Head Interviewed on Tour

OW0311135789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 21 Oct 89

[From the "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] A delegation of the Chinese Association of Science and Technology visited the Soviet Union not long ago. The following is a speech by Comrade (Ni Gengmao), head of the delegation and representative of the Dalian Association of Science and Technology.

[Begin (Ni) recording] Since we arrived here, we inspected and visited Moscow's machine tool plant and went to the Ukrainian Republic to visit an electronic [word indistinct] plant, the Institute of Urban Construction, and the Institute of Cybernetics. We were warmly received by responsible comrades at all levels when we arrived at these units. They also briefed us on how Soviet scientific and technological organizations at the grassroots level organized scientists and technicians to develop scientific and technological activities and trained and educated scientists and technicians. We have come to understand that Soviet scientific and technological organizations at the grassroots level have done much work in both plants and institutes. There are some common grounds between the activities we see here and those of China's associations of science and technology. Our inspection tour to the Soviet Union is mainly sponsored by the All-Soviet Organization of Science. The activities of the Association of Science and Technology of the Ukrainian Republic are particularly successful. We went there so as to fully understand the activities of Soviet organizations of science and technology. [End recording]

The following is a speech by (Yachin), member of the Council of the Soviet Association of Science and Engineering.

[Russian recording played, fading into Mandarin translation by announcer] (Yachin) said: Our two countries have cooperation agreements at the central level. However, at present, we find it very important to develop ties between local organizations. Therefore, it is not incidental that the Chinese delegation's itinerary includes a visit to the Ukraine. The Ukraine's organization is one of the strongest local organizations. Moreover, Chinese comrades will take interest in some Ukrainian departments such as machine-building, ship-building, and food industries. We plan to make contacts with China's enterprises under six ministries and acknowledge them in protocols to be signed after we make visits to them.

According to a round-table meeting held recently, both sides have experience which merits exchange. The Soviet side takes interest in China's achievements in agriculture, food industry, and ship-building. Detailed cooperation plans will be drawn up in 3 or 4 months. Currently, exhibitions will be held throughout the country. The two sides will also exchange advanced workers in science and technology. I think the public in the two countries is interested in speeding up progress in science and technology. Please listen to (Yachin) talking about the Soviet Union's progress in this field and the questions it faces.

[Russian recording played, fading into Mandarin translation by announcer] (Yachin) said: Among our achievements is workers' groups spending their spare time solving technical difficulties. This is to bring each worker's potential into full play and use his spare time to its limit. This solved the question of young workers taking no interest in creative work to a certain extent. We believe we can cooperate with the Chinese comrades in this field.

When the Chinese guests visited the Moscow machine tool plant, they happily learned that the plant not only produced modern machine tools and production lines, but also turned out versatile actresses. The noted Russian national folk songstress (Sophia) started her working career in this plant. We now broadcast a lyrical song sung by (Sophia) for folk song lovers: "The Heat of Summertime." [song continues for 3 minutes]

Northeast Asia

USSR 'Does Not Regard' ROK as 'Enemy'

SK0711021689 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] As has been reported, full diplomatic relations were established between Poland and the ROK [hanguk] on 1 November. Prior to this [word indistinct] Hungary established friendly relations with Seoul.

This radio station's commentator (Spartak Alekseyev) stated that the development of ties between socialist countries and the ROK has become one of the clear courses leading to agreement on overall interests in improving the international situation.

In particular, economic and trade cooperation with corporations and companies in the ROK has been actively carried out. Their activities contributed toward turning South Korea [namjoson] into a new and developed industrial country.

(?Last) year alone, trade between socialist countries and the ROK amounted to $3.7 billion, showing a 37-percent increase. Thirty percent of this amount represents trade between Seoul and the PRC. Economic and trade ties between companies in the ROK and in the Soviet Union and East Europe are developing rapidly.

It is considered that ties with Seoul will not damage, to even the slightest degree [chogumdo], the significance of the friendship and the amicable relations which have long existed between socialist countries and the DPRK. We think that such contact should contribute toward creating a more favorable overall international atmosphere. For example, this should contribute toward creating an international situation more favorable to solving problems existing between the two Korean states.

This issue of establishing diplomatic relations with Seoul has been reviewed in different ways by many (?socialist) nations. In conclusion, (?Spartak Alekseyev) wrote that the issue should be settled only according to each nation's sovereignty. For example, the Soviet Union stated that it will not diplomatically recognize South Korea. This will not, however, serve as an obstacle to further developing ties in (?non-political) domains.

A Soviet airline company opened a mission in Seoul. As stated by Mikhail Kapitsa, director of the Soviet Oriental Studies Institute, the Soviet Union, although it maintains close relations with the DPRK, does not regard the ROK as its enemy.

ROK Scholar Views Cooperation With USSR

SK0711011889 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Unattributed talk from the "Today's World" program]

[Text] (PROVO PRINA), a Soviet magazine, has interviewed (Choe Chong-kyu), chairman of ROK [hanguk] Association of Soviet Union and East Europe Researchers and director of the ROK International Relations Institute.

Referring to prospects for economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, the ROK political scientist pointed out that ROK businessmen, too, want to cooperate with the Soviet Union and are willing to invest their capital in establishing joint ventures. [passage indistinct]

Still, ROK businessmen are allowed to invest a small amount of money, not more than $1 million.

(Choe Tong-kyu) said: The cooperative relations between the Soviet Union and ROK [words indistinct]. For example, people must come to Moscow via Tokyo. This hinders [word indistinct] contacts. Seoul recognizes that direct air routes must open between Seoul and Moscow.

The ROK political scientist points out the influence that the prevailing situation in Northeast Asia exercises upon the development of cooperation between ROK and the Soviet Union. First of all, he pointed out, the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China are of great significance. During the historic days of May, when (?Gorbachev) was visiting Beijing, (Choe Tong-kyu) was staying in Beijing and watched meetings between Soviet and Chinese leaders on television there. [passage indistinct] It is because this may exercise a bad influence upon the situation on the Korean peninsula.

(Choe Tong-kyu) also noted the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and Japan. The establishment of normal relations between (?Japan) and (?the Soviet Union) will help ease the situation prevailing between the North and South of Korea [Choson].

In summing up his visit to the Soviet Union, the director of the ROK International Relations Institute, said that he signed an (?agreement) on cooperation with the World Economics and International Relations Institute under the Soviet Academy of Sciences. He pointed out that he believed a similar (?agreement) on cooperation will be signed with the Oriental Studies Institute under the Soviet Academy of Sciences in the future. [passage indistinct]

S. Korean Economic Achievements Explained

PM3110154989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by V. Osipov in response to reader's letter under the rubric "The Reader Asks Questions, Ponders, and Advises": "Dialogue: National Trait"; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] Tell us about South Korea. It has made an economic leap. Is this a Korean national feature, hard work, or skillful economic management?

[Signed] P. Kovalev, Yaroslavl.

Interest in South Korea is quite understandable. In recent decades it has indeed made a drastic technological leap. Its output competes successfully on the world market with American, Japanese, and West European goods. High growth rates of industrial production are maintained in the country. These rates have totaled 8 percent every year for the last 20 years and 12 percent in 1988.

South Korea is self-sufficient in food.

What are the reasons for these changes? The answer cannot be unequivocal. It must be sought both within and outside the country. First the export model of economic development was chosen, and they began by producing very ordinary goods—children's toys, clothes, and crockery. In the seventies they produced ships, steel, televisions, and radioelectronics. In the eighties South Korea became a major exporter of automobiles, computers, videorecorders, and computer microchips.

The progress of the South Korean economy cannot, of course, be separated from the tremendous financial aid it was given by the United States and Japan. The United States invested $5.3 billion in various sectors of the South Korean economy, including $3 billion of commercial credits and $2.3 billion of state loans. Japan gave South Korea aid on a government and private basis totaling $12 billion.

It is appropriate here to mention the policy of harsh worker exploitation. The South Korean working week is 53 hours. Some $32 is spent on the work force in producing 1 metric tonne of steel in South Korea, whereas this figure is $132 and $164 in Japan and the United States respectively.

When speaking about South Korea's achievements, one cannot help mentioning a Korean national trait. You noticed this correctly, Comrade Kovalev. A Korean of any age is notable for his persistence in striving to achieve his goal and his desire for knowledge. Students endeavor to make the most effective possible use of their years of study. They spend 10-12 hours each at universities every day.

South Korea's economic progress and the emergent positive processes in the internal political situation have of course facilitated changes in foreign policy, too. South

Korea's contacts now, say with socialist countries, have become appreciably more active. The Soviet Union has not shunned them either. Since late-1988 the USSR and South Korea have embarked on direct trade ties on a nongovernment basis (last year commodity turnover totaled approximately $200 million and in the first half of this year this figure was $270 million). A USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry mission and a Korean Trade Assistance Corporation mission have been set up in Seoul and Moscow respectively.

Talking about South Korea, how can one fail to mention something that concerns every Korean. The problem of the national unity of North and South. The DPRK's major initiatives are well known, they aim to end the military-political confrontation on the peninsula, ensure the phased reduction of the North's and the South's arms and armed forces and the withdrawal from the South of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons, transform the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, sign a nonaggression declaration between Pyongyang and Seoul, and develop inter-Korean peaceful dialogue. These constructive initiatives enjoy the Soviet Union's total support.

Soviet Economics Experts End Visit to ROK

LD2910192589 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Text] A delegation of experts from the Moscow Institute of World Economy and International Relations has concluded a visit to South Korea where they stayed at the invitation of the Reunification Democratic Party led by prominent opposition activist, Kim Yong-sam. In a joint communique the Soviet side said it had been impressed by South Korea's economic achievements and expressed the hope more oportunities would open up for contacts between the two countries.

Repair of Soviet Ships in S. Korea Discussed

SK3010124389 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Talk by (Misaho Maxinov), chief engineer at the Soviet Far East Fishery Station; date and place not given]

[Text] A protocol of cooperation for 1990 was signed with the Hyundai Mipo (?shipyard). The protocol envisages the type of ships to be repaired in the South Korean shipyard and the period of repair there. Our demand is that ships be repaired rapidly and well. We can say that South Korean ship repair workers have met this demand thus far without fail. It was in 1988 when we had the first contract for repair of our ships with South Korean ship repair technicians. The period we requested for repairing our ships in the South Korean shipyard was very short. The ship repair technicians of South Korea successfully repaired our ships within the period stipulated in the contract.

In addition to this, the South Korean technicians did an outstanding job in repairing our ice-breaker ("Tadumilo Wattalov"). We have maintained ties mainly with the Hyundai Mipo shipyard. This shipyard is equipped with large-scale modern ship repair facilities and outstanding technicians. What we should do in the future is establish joint venture plants. We think that this problem will be smoothly settled.

Last week, the Soviet Far East Fishery Station received a ship that was repaired in South Korea and sent another ship to Ulsan, South Korea for repair. Our fishery station has its own ship repair enterprises in many places in the Far East. These ship repair enterprises have a limited ship repair capability. Therefore, developing the cooperation with South Korean ship repair companies is very important, and its prospect is very promising.

Our ship repair plants include (Sakhalin) repair plant, the (Tanjalta) maritime station, and other enterprises belonging to the Ministry of Fisheries of our country. However, the most difficult problem that we are faced with today is the shortage of labor force. This is why we have been satisfied with repairing our ships in South Korea.

Repairing ships requires a lot of money. We have carried out minor repair work of ships. Last year, many transport ships and ice-breakers were destroyed due to the explosion of icebergs in [word indistinct]. We are very grateful to South Korean shipyard companies for their repair of our ships.

The weather in the North Pole was very good this year and, as a result, not many ships were destroyed. However, there were still many [word indistinct]. We will continue the cooperation with these reliable partners of ours in South Korea.

North-South Korea Dialogue 'Bogged Down'

PM0211161789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent S. Tikhomirov: "DPRK: Why Journalists Have Become Skeptics"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 1 Nov—The importance of what has been happening in recent weeks in Panmunjom, a locality on the 38th parallel, can be assessed in various ways. But I think I am not mistaken when I take as my point of departure what journalists think about the events. Primarily those who are observing the development of inter-Korean dialogue from the sidelines, as it were, although not dispassionately, of course. Anyway, foreign media representatives' interest in events on the 38th parallel has markedly declined.

Why? The same old reasons. In the main areas of North-South relations—I mean preparation for high-level military-political talks and an interparliamentary meeting—dialogue is obviously bogged down.

The stumbling block in the way of progress is visible enough. It is the fate of South Korean priest Mun Ik Khvan [name as published], who was recently sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by a Seoul court for making an unauthorized trip to the DPRK, and the "case" of the student Lim Su Gen [name as published], who is also accused of breaking the law on national security (she awaits her fate in jail, while the investigation goes on).

Pyongyang is insisting on their release, and if you look at the situation through the eyes of DPRK citizens, both "offenders" have in fact become symbols in the Koreans' struggle for the unification of a divided nation.

On the other hand, it is gratifying to note that the dialogue on humanitarian issues—in particular, the talks between the Red Cross societies of North and South and contacts concerned with setting up a combined team to participate in next year's Asian Games—is making progress, albeit slow progress.

The next series of talks is set for November.

Japan's Need To Tighten Military Ranks Viewed

90UI0091A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 44, 1 Nov 89 p 9

[Article by Vladislav Dunayev, correspondent of NOVOSTI and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: "The Barracks Should Be Squeezed"]

[Text] Tokyo—As a result of the democratization process, and in recent years, as a manifestation of hope of the possibility of the prevention of global war, an increase in "anti-army" sentiments has been observed in Japan since the war. These manifestations have been of the most diverse nature. They include the youth's reluctance to associate themselves with the Self-Defense Force (as the army is called in Japan). Movements which flare up periodically against the Japanese Army's participation in joint maneuvers with the United States and against the calls at Japanese ports of American submarines carrying nuclear weapons. Finally, the constant dissatisfaction of the country's entire population with the fact that, given the current land shortage in Japan, such sizable amounts thereof have been put at the disposal of the Self-Defense Force.

It cannot be said that Japan's National Defense Agency has not responded to such sentiments in society. It is not fortuitous that a considerable part of the annual white papers on national security is devoted, as a rule, to the creation of a more acceptable image of the Self-Defense Force among Japanese citizens. There are detailed accounts of the part which the Japanese military plays in community service associated with removal of the consequences of natural disasters (earthquakes, flooding, fires) and in rescue operations. Photographic material on festivals organized by the Self-Defense Force to which the inhabitants of this area or the other have been invited to take part in mass shows, musical parades, and walks is carried.

Testimony to the National Defense Agency's concern at its incapacity for evoking the sympathies of the ordinary Japanese was a report which appeared recently in the newspaper YOMIURI under the striking headline " 'Enemy' Defense Force Gives the Public Sports Complexes". The report spoke about the opening scheduled for 1991 of sports rooms, stadiums, and installations currently at the disposal of Japan's Self-Defense Force throughout the country for free use by the public around the clock on Saturdays and Sundays and also from 1700 hours on other days of the week. Commentaries emphasize that it is now exceptionally important for the Self-Defense Force to secure the support of the "grassroots," that is, the people's masses at large. This is more important than seeking an increase in arms in a period when a tendency toward disarmament may be observed worldwide. The confidence that a reason for this decision was the conservatives' impressive defeat at the July elections to the upper house of parliament is being expressed also.

Middle-ranking officers, who will have to display "hospitality" directly on the grounds of the military units, have received the decision without enthusiasm. Commentators are even speculating that substantial resources from the 1991 military budget will be spent on the installation of high fences, within the garrisons themselves on this occasion, to protect the headquarters and barracks against unruly "civilians".

Whatever the case, closer, daily contact with civilians, the majority of whom will be young people, will hardly damage the Self-Defense Force. Such contacts, it would seem, are fully in keeping with the spirit of our times and the hopes that barracks, wherever they are located, will first be squeezed and then scrapped altogether.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Singapore Parliamentarians Have Talks in Moscow

PM0111143189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Singapore Delegation's Stay"]

[Text] At the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet a Singapore parliamentary delegation led by Tan Su Khun [name as transliterated], speaker of the parliament, was in the Soviet Union on its first official visit 14 through 22 October.

The parliamentarians visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

The delegation was received by A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At the USSR Supreme Soviet Singapore's parliamentarians had conversations with R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, and with people's deputies who are members of the International Affairs Committee, the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, and the Committee for

Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management.

During the friendly discussions Singapore's parliamentarians were acquainted with Soviet society's main tasks at the present stage of perestroyka.

The discussion of foreign policy problems revealed a coincidence of positions, primarily as regards the positive influence of the new political thinking on the state of international relations and on the establishment in them of peace, cooperation, and common human values.

The participants in the conversations stated that the warming of the climate in the Asian-Pacific region has spread also to Southeast Asia, increasing hopes that the region will become a zone of peace and stability.

The sides advocated continuing political dialogue aimed at reaching a Cambodian settlement. Noting the beneficial role of the recent Paris conference, they pointed to the importance of ensuring a continuous negotiating process and preventing civil war in Cambodia.

Prospects for Cambodia Settlement Examined

PM0611160789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 89 First Edition p5

[TASS correspondent V. Novikov report: "Cambodia: Peace Has Yet To Come"]

[Text] Phnom Penh, 4 Nov—A month has passed since the final withdrawal from Cambodia of Vietnamese volunteer troops, who were here at the request of this country's government. They gave the Cambodian people invaluable assistance in the task of defending the state against the possible return to power of Pol Pot's genocidal regime. The volunteers from fraternal Vietnam helped in restoring and strengthening the Cambodian People's Army, which, from this year, has taken complete responsibility for defending the country.

As is well known, the opposition persistently sought the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodian territory, giving this as the main condition for a peaceful solution to the Cambodian problem. The government of the State of Cambodia has now taken this step. The Vietnamese troops have been withdrawn in their entirety and for good. However, the process of a political settlement in this country has not developed further. What is more, it is now clear that the Vietnamese volunteers' return home is being used by antigovernment forces as an opportunity to overthrow the people's government and divide power by armed means.

For example, at the end of October Pol Pot's men attacked the population center of Pailin and entered it. This event is regarded in Phnom Penh as a temporary tactical success, as Pailin does not have great strategic significance. Units of the Cambodian People's Armed Forces hold key high points in this region. According to the Cambodian leadership, opposition formations are preparing to conduct largescale combat operations in other regions as well. In particular, the opposition is developing combat operations in Battambang Province.

It is being noted that military operations may continue for quite some time because of the stand taken by a number of states. This concerns the questions of terminating foreign military aid to the Khmer opposition and no longer affording it territory for refuge. The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia has not been a sufficient reason for a number of countries to cease sending arms to antigovernment forces. So far, counterrevolutionary forces are using Thai territory as a safe haven and a place to replenish their forces. What is more, Thai Armed Forces recently resumed their support of detachments in the antigovernment coalition.

Another factor that could contribute to making the situation in Cambodia more complicated is the possibility of increased cooperation between the three opposition factions. At present, this cooperation is very insignificant. However, the Cambodian leadership does not rule out the possibility of greater collaboration between these groups at some stage.

It should be pointed out in this connection that the opposition has no prospects of achieving its aims. It will continue to receive a determined rebuttal. At the same time, the task is now to find a new compromise and achieve a cease-fire without waiting until the confrontation becomes irreversible.

As far as the Cambodian leadership is concerned, it is firmly opposed to resolving the conflict by military means and is ready to seek peaceful ways to settle the conflict. The main condition in this respect must be the termination of foreign military aid to the Khmer opposition and the achievement of a cease-fire agreement.

State Department Statement on Burma Viewed

BK0311104089 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Commentary by Aleksandr Vladimirov: "Situation in Myanmar and Instructions From Washington"]

[Text] A spokesman from the U.S. State Department has announced that activities of its diplomats in Yangon are governed by direct instructions from the government in Washington. The U.S. State Department has made this announcement in response to the publication of articles in the Myanmar Government newspapers with tones of dissatisfaction over positions taken by the U.S. diplomats over the affairs in Myanmar.

Spokesmen of the State Law and Order Restoration Council and Myanmar newspapers have repeatedly stated that Myanmar authorities viewed Western media reports on political and human rights situations in Myanmar as being out of focus in the present context and as interference in internal affairs of the Union of Myanmar.

For instance, the LOKTHA PYEITHU NEZIN recently carries an article by U Soe Nyunt, director general of the Myanmar News and Periodicals Enterprise, in which he says some Western broadcasting stations are spreading fabricated and unfounded reports. U Soe Nyunt points to extensive use of telephone interviews by Western news agencies in interviewing leaders from opposition parties as one factor responsible for the appearance of exaggerated reports and rumors in foreign newspapers and periodicals.

It is also common knowledge that the news dissemination situation in Myanmar is such that diplomats based in Yangon depend on the same source of news as some Western correspondents. The Moscow Radio correspondent comments that it is clear that instructions sent from Washington to the U.S. diplomats in Myanmar are not in accordance with the wishes of the Myanmar Government.

Near East & South Asia

Foreign Ministry Statement on Lebanese Elections

PM0711105189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "USSR Foreign Ministry Statement"]

[Text] "In Lebanon a sitting of the country's parliament has taken place. A charter of national agreement was affirmed and the president of the Lebanese Republic and chairman of parliament were elected.

An important practical step toward the reconstruction of constitutional institutions and the restoration of the Lebanese state system has been made. Encouraging prospects for the Lebanese people to turn over a tragic page in its motherland's contemporary history and to begin restoring the common Lebanese home, whose firm foundation must be national agreement, have appeared.

The deputies of the Lebanese Parliament, representing various political forces, have demonstrated a statesmanlike approach to the destinies of their country and have managed to overcome the barriers of disagreements that have accumulated over long years of civil war and divided Lebanese society. The decisions they adopted did not come easily. All the more important, therefore, to consolidate them consistently with further measures provided for in the charter of national agreement. It is necessary to continue the Lebanese republic's movement toward regeneration and to make it steady and irreversible.

This is a nationwide task; its successful implementation depends on the unified efforts of all the Lebanese, regardless of their political views and religious beliefs. Anyone who might attempt through deliberate or thoughtless actions to destroy the historical compromise that has been reached, would take on a grave responsibility for the inevitable consequences.

The emerging peace settlement process is, to a great extent, the result of the energetic actions of the Arab League Tripartite Committee on Lebanon. The fact that Syria and other Arab countries constructively cooperated with the committee also played an important role.

General concern for the future of the Lebanese state and its people united the efforts of the international community toward an urgent political settlement of the Lebanese crisis. This was reflected in the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand, in two USSR-U.S. statements on Lebanon, and also in coordinated actions by the UN Security Council and its five permanent members. The cooperation between various countries over the Lebanese situation is yet more evidence of the positive changes in the international political climate.

Clearly, success in Lebanese affairs will have a favorable effect on the overall situation in the Middle East and will promote the consolidation of regional and international efforts towards an all-embracing settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The Soviet Union sincerely welcomes the real, positive changes in the Lebanese arena. The USSR pursues a principled policy aimed at the peaceful settlement of contentious issues, supports the unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon, and will continue in the future to promote, in every way possible, a fundamental improvement of the situation in this country and to help it again become an active member of the international community.

Supreme Soviet Greets Lebanon's New President

LD0611163789 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet sent a congratulatory message to Rene Mu'awwad, president of the Republic of Lebanon, in connection with his appointment to this post.

The message expresses wishes of success to the president in his activity at the present important period in Lebanon's history.

"The Soviet Union will continue vigorously to promote the political settlement and national reconciliation in Lebanon, the ensurance of unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Lebanese state," the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet emphasizes.

Afghan Ministry on Pakistani Missile Tests

LD0611142689 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Kabul November 6 TASS—Security personnel in Afghanistan have defused a bomb containing 36 kilograms of explosives in a Kabul district.

Under a government decree, security personnel also bought a portable anti-aircraft stinger system and a cluster-bomb missile full of anti-personnel mines from commanders of rebel groups in Kabul Province.

Over the past twenty-four hours more than 200 refugees returned to Herat and Ghazni Provinces from Pakistan and Iran. Local authorities gave material assistance to them and provided transport for them to get to places where they will permanently live.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry held a briefing here about the tests of two new nuclear-capable short-range theatre missiles in Pakistan.

Spokesman N. Amani said the missiles are tested at a time when certain circles in the West and Pakistan have launched a campaign to halt the delivery of Soviet weapons to Afghanistan.

Afghanistan purchases Soviet weapons under bilateral agreements in order to defend its independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity while no one threatens Pakistan, he said.

The missile tests pose a real threat to neighbours and primarily to Afghanistan which cannot but show concern, Amani said.

Afghan Deputy Foreign Minister D. Kavian, in a BAKHTAR interview, praised the resolution on Afghanistan adopted at the 44th session of the U.N. General Assembly. He emphasised that Afghanistan would do everything possible to implement the resolution.

TASS Criticizes Afghan Interim Government

*LD0511113189 Moscow TASS in English
0758 GMT 5 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov:

Leaders of the Afghan irreconcilable opposition rejected the world community call for the earliest start of an interAfghan dialogue to create a broad-based government.

According to 'Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, the "prime minister" of the so-called "interim government" based in Pakistan, the United Nations call for talks, contained in a resolution of the U.N. General Assembly passed by consensus on November 1, is "unacceptable for mujahideens" and runs counter to truth, justice and logic. At the same time he urged U.N. members to officially recognise the "interim government" which he said was about to liberate the country.

What truth justice and logic is the head of the government, cobbled together by foreign secret services outside Afghanistan, talking about? Nearly nine months after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the government, which receives massive military aid and support of foreign patrons, can neither score a single convincing victory nor move into Afghanistan, which it promised to free long ago in a matter of several weeks, if not days. All these nine months opposition die-hards have been shelling Kabul and other Afghan cities, inflicting damage and bringing death to civilians whom they allegedly want to "liberate". They are trying to starve their compatriots by mounting a blockade of these cities, plundering and destroying convoys with bread and prime necessities sent to Afghanistan, including those from the United Nations. What logic does the irreconcilable opposition dare to speak about, when it is recognised by neither the international community, nor the Afghan field commanders who regard "the interim government" as a creature serving someone else's interests.

The bland refusal by opposition die-hards to heed the voice of the world body is not attributable to their desire to seek truth and justice. They are convinced that those who supported them all those years, who created the "interim government" in the hope of ensuring their selfish aims, will continue giving all-round support in defiance of the spirit and letter of the U.N. consensus resolution and Geneva Accords on Afghanistan. U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle gave exactly these assurances to the delegation of the interim government during a recent meeting in Washington.

Representatives of American authorities, who asked not to be identified, were quoted by AP as saying that the United States had continued arms supplies to mujahideens. They did not disclose the details of the operation, which was estimated to cost 600 million dollars last year, the news agency reported.

The U.N. General Assembly urged all parties to the conflict to work for a comprehensive political solution, an end to combat operations and the creation of necessary conditions for peace and normalisation which would help ensure voluntary, safe and honourable return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland. It is these goals that the Soviet Union and Afghanistan pursue in the spirit of the U.N. consensus resolution. It is now up to other parties. It is their turn to take specific steps towards an atmosphere which would help start an interAfghan dialogue, ensure the political solution that will be acceptable to the Afghan people and help end the protracted conflict.

Journalists Visit Afghan Rebel Emplacements

*PM0311151289 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 3 Nov 89 First Edition p 3*

[TASS correspondents A. Greshnov, A. Semenov reportage from Afghanistan: "Fighting in the Ravine"]

[Text] Kabul, 2 Nov—The Afghan Defense Ministry gave a group of local and foreign journalists the opportunity to visit the region of the Lalandar ravine, from where the armed Afghan opposition was shelling the capital. It transpired that there was a large group of rebels here from the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," which is headed by G. Hikmatyar. Its detachments were led by military advisers from Saudi Arabia.

"The sites here are inaccessible, equipped and fortified, you could say, for the long term, and so the idea of a direct attack was immediately dropped," Colonel Baryalay [name as published], chief of staff of the Afghan Armed Forces 4th Infantry Division, said. "We acted on the principle 'fight by skill, not by numbers.' Basically a grouping of some 500 rebels was driven from these sites by 70 Afghan Army servicemen. Wearing civilian clothes, 20 of our servicemen penetrated the enemy's rear, 10 approached his front lines, and the rest took up combat positions on the slopes adjacent to the ravine.

"In the dark before dawn the bandits took us for one of their own detachments. The fighting began when only 10-15 meters separated us. Using hand weapons and grenades, the Afghan soldiers pushed the enemy back from the front lines of defense.

"At that moment the detachment that had penetrated the bandits' rear and the covering group also 'pressed' the opposition forces. Some of them started a rumor on the approach of large forces of government troops, and a panic began. The rebels fled in the direction of Lowgar Province.

"Now," the divisional chief of staff went on, "we are in the region where the opposition detachments were located. The weapons and ammunition you see here—more than 2,000 rocket shells, heavy machineguns, mountain antiaircraft installations, grenade throwers—were found in the enemy's dumps. A large quantity of military equipment has still to be brought out of the dugouts, fortified positions, and weapon emplacements. The rebels lost more than 50 people dead or wounded."

We stooped to enter a cave. "Don't go any further, everything here is mined," the warning came. We approached the exit and found a mine which a minute ago we had stepped over without noticing it. The easy bravado faded, and now we tried to step only in our guide's footsteps.

The rebels fight fiercely, sparing neither wounded nor prisoners. We saw that for ourselves. Right here there were the heads of two Afghan soldiers who had been taken captive earlier and publicly executed by the Saudi mercenaries—graphic evidence of their brutality.

Despite the limited time allowed for the inspection of the captured rebel camp, we managed to talk with the soldiers. It seems that while the combat subunits of the Afghan Armed Forces did excellent work here, the rear services were not efficient enough. For nearly 3 days the fighters received no food and were forced to fend for themselves, as the saying goes.

The fighting goes on, the troops are continuing along the dangerous ravine, but our helicopter, raising clouds of dust, set off in the direction of Kabul.

Minister Katushev Meets Iranian President

PM0611123089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions Held"]

[Text] Tehran, 5 Nov—On Saturday A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, received K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of economic relations, head of an economic delegation, who is here on an official visit. In the course of the meeting there was an exchange of opinions concerning the present state of bilateral relations in various spheres and the prospects for their development, particularly in the economic sphere.

"We in Iran are following with tremendous interest the events taking place in the Soviet Union, the policy of glasnost and perestroyka proclaimed by Mikhail Gorbachev, and the political and economic reforms in your country," A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani stated. He expressed his country's desire to further develop these relations in the interests of the peoples of the two neighboring states. The Iranian president described the present state of Soviet-Iranian ties as "good and expanding." Here he came out in favor of developing bilateral cooperation in environmental conservation in the Caspian Sea region.

Ends Visit to Tehran

LD0611095889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0739 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Tehran, 6 Nov (TASS)—The USSR Minister of External Economic Relations, K.F. Katuschev, has ended his official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran [IRI].

During the visit an agreement was signed between the governments of the USSR and the IRI on deliveries of Iranian natural gas to the Soviet Union in exchange for Soviet equipment sets, machines, and services in building industrial and national-economy projects in Iran.

Under this important document—which is proof of the practical implementation of the accords reached in Moscow at the talks between the present president of the IRI, A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, and M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee—beginning 1 April of next year, Iranian gas, which will be extensively used in the national economy, will begin to be supplied to the republics of the Soviet Transcaucasus. In turn, the Soviet Union will participate in setting up and expanding 19 major industrial facilities, the commissioning of which will have a positive effect on Iran's economic development.

The Soviet Minister was received by the president of the IRI. During their conversation the sides expressed deep satisfaction with the current state of Soviet-Iranian relations in various spheres, and underlined their interest in developing them further in the interests of the peoples of the two neighboring countries.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani Press Conference Viewed

90UI0090A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 44, 1 Nov 89 p 9

[Article by Sergey Medvedko: "Hashemi-Rafsanjani Face to Face With the Press"]

[Text] Advance notice was given of the upcoming press conference of 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Iran's embassies in various countries declared their intention to admit foreign correspondents in this connection. And thus they gathered in Tehran, like pilgrims, from all parts of the world: London, New York, Tokyo, Paris, Bonn.... A visa (for 5 days) for Iran was stamped into my official passport also.

The conference room of the presidential palace. For security purposes all the gear used by the journalists was surrendered the day before for inspection and handed back to the owners immediately prior to the start of the press conference. I had the impression that the president was looking forward to this meeting no less than the journalists. He responded readily and spoke affably and, in my opinion, perfectly sincerely. There was, most likely, a need for the world to learn the viewpoint of the president of Iran on a number of pressing problems.

One of them was Iran-Iraq relations. Hashemi-Rafsanjani described them as a state of "no war, no peace". It was a heavy burden on the peoples of both countries and was playing into the hands merely of forces pursuing their selfish interests. Despite the damage done by the 8-year war to Iranian industry, the president commented optimistically on the economic position of the state, noting that the economic programs were being implemented successfully. He supported the idea of cooperation with Western countries provided that they do not interfere in Iran's internal affairs, pointing out, however, that they must take the initiative. True, the president hastened to stipulate that the possibility of cooperation would not apply to the United States until certain problems connected, for example, with the Iranian assets frozen in American banks and the release of Iranian hostages had been settled.

The hostage question was central. This problem, according to the Iranian leader, had been engendered by the United States and Israel. Iran categorized hostage-taking as a reprehensible, inhumane act. The president called for a comprehensive solution of the problem of the hostages and the release of Western citizens abducted in Lebanon simultaneously with the granting of liberty to the Palestinian, Lebanese, and Iranian Muslims captured by Christian armed formations in Lebanon and the Israeli occupying forces. Hashemi-Rafsanjani absolved Tehran of responsibility for the missing Western citizens, pointing out that they were being held by Muslim groupings which are not under Iran's control. However, if Iran, he said, "is afforded an opportunity to obtain the release of both the Western and Muslim hostages, we will avail ourselves of it." The Iranian leader expressed regret that the governments of Western states were not displaying for the fate of the hostages the same interest as the journalists and called on the correspondents to do everything so that the governments of their countries might tackle this problem.

Answering a question concerning the state of Iranian-Soviet relations, the president said that the accords arrived at in the course of his visit to Moscow this June were being implemented successfully and that specific new programs of economic cooperation were being studied. In the course of the negotiations with Gorbachev, he declared, we were able to discuss all issues confronting us, reaching complete mutual understanding here on such topics as bilateral relations, the situation in the region, and international problems.

"I believe," a Western colleague said to me, "that after 10 years of the revolution Iran is embarking on a kind of path of perestroyka: the war is over, calls for the establishment of business relations with the West are gradually coming to replace militant Islamic slogans, and cooperation has been set up with the Soviet Union. And no one is any longer being called Satan. And the Iranian president's convening of such a representative press conference for foreign correspondents is unprecedented! Have we not been witnessing the birth of Iranian glasnost?"

Israeli Missile Raises Mediterranean Tension

PM0611123989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Filatov report under the rubric "International Notes": "Jericho-2 over the Mediterranean"]

[Text] Algiers—These days the Arab press is frequently returning to an alarming subject—Israel is working to create its own missile. The Beirut newspaper AL-NAHAR writes that new intermediate-range missiles capable of reaching any neighboring state within a radius of up to 1,000 km have been positioned in the north of Israel's territory, close to Beirut.

All this forces one to recall once more events which occurred not so long ago...

Four hundred kilometers is a great distance. All the same it will not seem so if you know that a missile launched from the territory of another state, and an unfriendly one at that, falls precisely 400 km from the place where you live. The thought immediately arises: "The next one may land here." The inhabitants of Benghazi in Libya found themselves in roughly this position on a clear day, 14

September, this year. They have firsthand experience of what such a bombardment means: In April 1986 Benghazi was bombed by deckborne aircraft of the U.S. 6th Fleet. And now an intermediate-range Jericho-2 missile launched from Israel has fallen into the sea 400 km away, directly off Benghazi.

This missile is a serious, highly destructive, nuclear-capable combat weapon. It was developed not so long ago. The Israeli Army is testing it. Tests were particularly intensive between May 1987 and September 1988.

It should be said that no vigorous protest campaign was mounted against Tel Aviv's missile program. Although it was condemned even from the Arab League platform. But Israel purposefully continued its work on Jericho-2. And this is the result—the missile, which traveled almost 1,500 km, proved that it can strike almost any Arab capital.

It is significant that in this instance the Western mass media, which usually give a detailed description even of explosions caused by homemade bombs, all maintained a surprisingly concerted silence, or limited themselves to short reports. Yet the Jericho-2 fell not so far from Italian and Greek shores.

A wave of protests broke out in Arab circles. In a letter to the UN secretary general, Libya rightly indicated that the launch of the Israeli missile is provoking a "new escalation of tension in the Mediterranean basin." These tests also present a danger to air and sea routes across the sea.

Without U.S. support the Israelis would not be able to get away with their aggressive policy, Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the Arab League, stated in Tunis. The United States bears the responsibility for this hostile act.

The Jericho-2 tests, and now also the deployment of the intermediate-range missiles in their combat positions are forcing people to ask this question: Why does Israel need this precisely now that certain hints at the possibility of settling the Near East crisis have emerged? The appearance of a new type of nuclear missile in the Near East, in whoever's hands, is fatal inasmuch as the opposing side sooner or later will answer this challenge by creating its own missiles.

Failure of Coup Attempt in Sudan Reported

EA0511195789 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] A coup attempt in Sudan has failed. The security forces have arrested seven high-ranking Sudanese military officials who attempted to overthrow the present regime. It was revealed that all of them had high-ranking positions in Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's cabinet. It should be recalled that the present government, led by General 'Umar al-Bashir, came to power in a coup last June. It has also been learned that nearly all former cabinet members are under arrest.

Moscow Radio Views Fighting in Sudan

EA0211163089 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 31 Oct 89

[From the "World Events Today" program]

[Text] A report from Khartoum says that the heavy bombardment of Kurmuk region by units of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army [SPLA] has forced a small number of government soldiers to vacate the region. Our commentator Vladimir Borisov says that the events in Sudan at present show that the crisis is worsening and can bring about the expansion of the civil war.

He said that despite this situation 'Umar al-Bashir, the military leader of Sudan, and John Garang, the leader of the Liberation Front, can still make the peace, about which they have talked a great deal.

The leaders of Sudan, while striving to strengthen their Armed Forces quickly, still know that it is not possible to gain a victory over the southern Sudanese guerrillas. If the war is prolonged it will deepen dissatisfaction among the people and the Army, which has been worried about the purging of senior officials since 30 June, when the coup took place. The Liberation Front does not dare fight a stronger enemy than the one confronting it now, and cannot starve its sympathizers of foreign food aid.

The main problem now is the misunderstanding between the military government and the Liberation Front on the future of Sudan, and their role in its future development. Senior officials are confident that the democratic regime did not bring to the people of Sudan anything but internal disturbances and straining of the country's relations with its neighbors. Their position is supported by some people, who believe that a stronger government can end the corruption that has plagued government bodies, and can take the country out of the economic chaos it is suffering from. They also believe that Islamic laws can help in reaching these objectives. It is thought that if Christians and those who have other faiths do not like Islamic laws they should have an autonomous administration, or an independent government.

But there are also others, including the Liberation Front, who think that one military regime cannot solve socioeconomic problems like those facing Sudan. An independent government of southern Sudan, cannot exist for economic reasons. As for an autonomous administration, if the central government has unlimited powers, and if the SPLA leaders are made subordinate to the central government, that can bring about little change.

As pointed out by John Garang, the guerilla leader, the rights the people of southern Sudan are struggling for can only be guaranteed under the umbrella of a central government Constitution, which supervises political organizations, including the Liberation Front. This idea looks right, but it does not take into account the fact that the present demand for full democratization of the life of Sudan is tantamount to asking the military leadership to resign. That is not possible, because it is only 4 months since the military coup took place.

So can Sudan be salvaged from the tight corner it is in? Yes, I think so. It can be saved if the two warring sides change their positions, while keeping in mind and without overlooking, the need to achieve peace. It is possible that a relaxation in the position of the Liberation Front will be discussed at a meeting to be held between their representatives and Desmond Tutu, the famous South African priest, next Saturday. Desmond Tutu, representing the All- African Conference of Churches proposed to mediate on the Sudan issue. That step will surely be a helpful one. They say that unity is strength.

Roundtable Discusses Palestinian Uprising

LD0211203489 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—A roundtable devoted to the Palestinian uprising on the Israeli-occupied Arab territories was held here today.

Speakers pointed to the need for people all over the world to pressure the Israeli authorities to stop illegal actions on the occupied territories.

The roundtable was attended by Nabil 'Umar, PLO special representative to the USSR

Sub-Saharan Africa

Tigre Liberation Front Threat to Ethiopia Viewed

PM0611160389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[Own Correspondent S. Demidov report: "Ethiopia: Against Threat of Split"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 3 Nov—Surely never in the 15 years since the National Democratic Revolution has Ethiopia been so close to the brink of danger. The main threat comes from the Tigre People's Liberation Front [TPLF].

The front's armed detachments have crossed the provisional [uslovnyy] border of the Ethiopian autonomous province of Tigre, where this movement opposed to the central authorities was born, and is waging combat actions against government forces and territorial militia formations in other provinces of the republic, primarily in northern Welo and northern Gonder. In this situation an extraordinary session of the Ethiopian National Assembly—the second in less than 4 months—has been convened in the Ethiopian capital.

After discussing the tense situation which has been created in the country, Ethiopian parliamentary deputies voted "for the mobilization of the people's forces." Deputies adopted a decision to strengthen the Ethiopian armed forces with all the necessary "human and material resources." A resolution approved at the session also contains an appeal to the population of Tigre to rise up in struggle against the front which, it was stressed, is pursuing its own purely "tribalistic and narrow selfish aims." At the same time the Ethiopian National Assembly has issued a demand to the TPLF to end its actions aimed at undermining the country's unity and to adopt a realistic position: To accept peaceful dialogue with Addis Ababa and come to the negotiating table to seek ways to unravel the knot of problems faced by the north of the republic. The National Assembly document also instructed its executive organ—the Ethiopian State Council—to take all possible steps to fulfill the decisions adopted at the session so as to achieve peace on Ethiopian soil.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee and president of Ethiopia, made it known that the government is leaving the door open to peace talks with that opposition grouping. The Ethiopian leader recalled the agreement reached with TPLF leaders on preliminary contacts in London and on the beginning of a preparatory round of talks with them in Rome.

Greetings Exchanged With Zambian Foreign Ministry

PM0611121789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] Greetings telegrams on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the Republic of Zambia were exchanged between the two countries' foreign ministries.

The telegrams express confidence that the relations of friendship, mutual understanding, and cooperation existing between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Zambia will continue to successfully develop and strengthen for the benefit of our countries and peoples.

East Europe

Budapest Radio Interviews Falin, Medvedev

LD0411220589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Interview with Valentin Falin, chief of the International Department of the CPSU, and Roy Medvedev, Supreme Soviet member, who both speak in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation, by Jozsef Barath in Moscow; date not given—recorded; from the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] [Presenter] What is happening in certain socialist countries? Who will get power? Is the internal affair of the country concerned? All these questions are being asked in the Soviet Union today. However, we still wait for new confirmation as to whether or not the Brezhnev Doctrine—which was suitable for interfering in each other's internal affairs—has really ended, because the reflex, which made us consider that the Soviet pattern was the only redeeming one, is still in operation.

How strong is dependency today, when the multiparty system already exists, when it is expected that the head of government is not going to be the representative of the hitherto ruling party at the upcoming elections. With whom will the Soviet Union make an alliance, and whom will it also support financially from among the leftwing parties? Will it select, on an ideological basis, from the Communists, the socialists, the Social Democrats? Jozsef Barath conducted interviews in Moscow.

[Barath] To which party, out of the forming parties of the Hungarian leftwing, does the CPSU feel closest? Does the Soviet Union want to strengthen, through its support, the communist movement or movements? I put these questions to Valentin Falin, chief of the International Department of the CPSU, who is the third man in the party regarding international questions, after Gorbachev and Yakovlev, Central Committee secretary.

[Falin] I think that the affair of party formation and strenghthening is your affair, a Hungarian affair. These questions will be solved by you according to your own internal Hungarian conditions. The CPSU does not know of any sort of solution, nor does it even want to nor will it force or propose one. This is very well known by your comrades, and also by those who want to maintain the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. We, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, have congratulated Rezso Nyers and expressed our hopes for a successful cooperation to serve our mutual interests. If other parties also appear on the scene and they express the interest of certain social strata, groups, and classes, then we will work out our stance in connection with them also. But it is not reasonable to guess, nor is it necessary.

[Barath] What is your personal reaction to the developments in Hungary?

[Falin] We try to understand the reasons and meaning of the events which took a turn in this direction: that a party which had total power, all of sudden decided on the fundamental renewal of itself and of society. It has created a qualitatively new situation by itself. These questions have to be answered; this is really not easy. I am afraid that you do not have a precise answer yet either; however, one must find one's way in these matters, because it is possible that there is some kind of objective truth here which is worth the attention of your friends of great number in the Soviet Union and also beyond our borders.

[Barath] Have you got any version regarding the answer?

[Falin] We have observations which need to be analyzed before they can become conclusions.

[Barath] Valentin Falin is the consignor of the official stance, while Roy Medvedev, Supreme Soviet member, can afford guesses too. Will the Soviet Union support the would-be Hungarian communist party or parties?

[Medvedev] Of course, I think that the Soviet Union will support the communist groupings, but the Soviet Union will support the socialist party too, or at least it wants to form a loyal relation with it. What is more, the Soviet Union will be loyal to all democratic parties, which do not carry out sharply hostile politics towards the Soviet Union.

Moscow would like Hungary to remain a friendly country, thus I do not expect any kind of rigid or negative reaction in the Soviet Union in connection with the changes taking place in Hungary. Many people reason that if the Hungarian communist party or something similar forms, then this is going to be the brother party of the CPSU which will be supported by Moscow. Naturally, this is how it is going to be too. But this is probably going to happen the same way as it did in the FRG. The German Communist Party, which does not even represent 1 percent of the electors, is a brother party of ours. However, we maintain not only normal and loyal but also friendly relations with the Social Democratic Party. In our politics, naturally, let us say Brandt and the German social democracy play a much greater role than the Communists, because they actually represent a realistic political force.

Our country nowadays carries out realistic politics. We strive to cooperate with all forces which do not carry out anti-Soviet politics openly.

[Barath] Tell me, what was Soviet support for Communist Parties like in the past and how has this changed?

[Medvedev] In the past, we were the followers of dogmatism; we only wanted to talk to the Communists in real terms.

[Barath] Did you also give them money?

[Medvedev] No, I did not mean money, but political support. Naturally, the relation could have had a financial side to it too, but this was not a direct thing in the form of rolling rubles. The method of this generally was the book selling or that the Communists received the fees of well-known Soviet artists. There were a lot of possibilities for supporting the Communists, for example by way of handing over information necessary to them.

[Barath] I think that this has changed by now.

[Medvedev] Yes, I also think that there is no need for this sort of thing today, for the very reason that this kind of support has only discredited the Communist Parties abroad.

PRAVDA Views Upcoming Hungarian Referendum

PM0611155789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "Referendum Ahead"]

[Text] Budapest, 3 Nov—Is the workers' militia necessary? Can party groups be organized in production units? Does Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party-Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZMP-MSZP] property have to be accounted for? And finally, should the president of the republic be elected before or after the elections to parliament?

Such questions will be submitted to a national referendum. The Union of Free Democrats recently collected the necessary 100,000 signatures to hold the referendum and parliament adopted the appropriate decision.

Although the State Assembly Session had already resolved to disband the workers' militia and prohibit the organization of production unit party groups (they will only be permitted in places of residence), the referendum can ratify or repeal these resolutions. Disputes concerning MSZMP, and now MSZP property, are also finally being cleared up.

The situation as regards the election of the president is far more complex. The MSZP has proposed that an election be held in the next few months by direct general ballot, and that parliament not be re-elected until next year. Incidentally, many opposition parties agree on this proposal. The referendum set for 26 November can ratify this plan and then the general ballot will be held 7 January. The list of candidates for the highest post includes I. Pozsgay, K. Kulcsar, L. Fur, S. Racz, and M. Szuros. However, the list is constantly increasing.

It is planned that the question of the Hungarian Republic's national emblem will also be resolved by a ballot on 7 January. Two alternatives have been proposed for the emblem. One is historical and bears the royal crown. The other, the coat of arms of Lajos Kossuth, is from the period of the 1848 revolution. Because of the nature of the current Hungarian Constitution, it is no longer necessary to keep the current emblem, the State Assembly stated.

Krenz Attends Great October Anniversary Fete

LD0611220589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1947 GMT 6 Nnov 89

[Excerpt] [No dateline as received] [Passage omitted] Today in the Soviet Embassy in the GDR, there was a ceremonial reception on the occasion of the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. E. Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and other party and state leaders took part in it. [passage omitted]

GDR Activist Interviewed at Berlin Demonstration

PM0711104089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 89 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent S. Baygarov Berlin dispatch incorporating 4 November interview with Michael Bri (name as transliterated), chief of Berlin University faculty of historical materialism: "Something To Say to the People: Meeting in a Column of Demonstrators"]

[Text] Berlin—On the eve of the October holiday, on 4 November, a demonstration involving about half a million people took place in Berlin. Among the speakers were figures from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and other parties, leaders of the informal organization "New Forum," writers, scientists, priests...

In short, all those who have something to say to their fellow citizens.

"All strata of the GDR population are now participating to an equal extent in rallies and demonstrations," says Michael Bri, 35-year-old lecturer, chief of the Berlin University faculty of historical materialism, communist, father of three, and active participant in the heated debates of recent months. "There are forces both in the SED and outside it that have not yet realized that all these demonstrators are basically standing up for the Constitution and the further development of socialism in the country. It is often said nowadays that 'you cannot decide questions in the street.' But experience shows that you can begin to resolve many problems in the squares. Remember October 1917 in Russia. And if you can do it in a civilized way, without violence—that is a very good thing."

[Baygarov] "Michael, what, in your view, is the present situation like in the GDR?"

[Bri] "Very complex. The mass departure of our fellow citizens for the FRG has made the present situation particularly acute. It must be admitted that we are late with our reforms," M. Bri went on. "Although the economic and social situation in the GDR is much better than in the Soviet Union and comparatively more stable than in certain other European socialist countries, nonetheless we, too, have profound manifestations of crisis. It is first and foremost a question of a structural crisis. We lag behind the West in labor productivity and many other matters, including social questions. Thus many problems have accumulated that simply cannot be resolved overnight. On the other hand, as I see it, great political and spiritual maturity can be observed in society.

"In the light of the experience of other socialist countries, first and foremost the Soviet Union, it may be assumed that the reform will proceed in two stages. The first step is comparatively radical political reforms similar to those that have developed in the Soviet Union over the last 2 years."

[Baygarov] "For instance?"

[Bri] "The change in laws on elections, the press, and so forth. In short, at the first stage it is necessary to create the political and spiritual prerequisites for further changes. Only after that, on the basis of democratic decisions, can economic perestroyka begin.

"Perestroyka for you, revolution [povorot] for us—it does not matter what we call these transformations—are as complex and multifaceted as the October Revolution itself, which laid the foundations for real socialism. As for the further improvement of a society free from exploitation, the implementation of humanist principles, and the emancipation of man, in this sense the present processes directly continue the cause of October.

"But the world has changed. The world community has become far more interdependent and packed with weapons, it has become too fragile. Drawing on experience, we must scale new heights. This, in my view, is the meaning of Lenin's legacy," the scholar said.

Rakowski Interviewed on Situation in PZPR

LD0611210289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Mikhaylenko in Warsaw]

[Excerpt] [Mikhaylenko] [Passage omitted] At the moment there is a break in the work of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] plenum. Taking advantage of this, I put a question to Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee: How do you appraise the situation in the party at the present time?

[Begin Rakowski recording in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] Today the party is more active than a month or 2 ago, says Comrade Rakowski. At various party organizations, people already are talking first and foremost about the future and less about the past, about errors and mistakes committed, and this is a very positive phenomenon. At the same time it has to be said that a significant part of the Party is still passive. We have centrifugal tendencies: There are comrades who, having drawn conclusions from the failures of the past, think that it is necessary to fully repudiate what up to now made up the essence of the PZPR. Thus we also have extreme positions. However, it seems to me—and this conviction is strengthening—that the party which exists, even if it changes its name, if it adopts a new program orientation, all the same should preserve the great legacy of the PZPR and strive, as it was before, to be the most popular and influential party. In other words, centripetal tendencies in the party are at the moment, in my view, stronger than centrifugal tendencies. [end recording]

[Mikhaylenko] I asked Comrade Rakowski: What would you like to wish the Soviet people on the eve of the holiday?

[Begin Rakowski recording] I want to urge them to implement perestroyka in the spirit mapped out by Comrade Gorbachev and the CPSU leadership. I hope that our Soviet comrades have good training, strength and belief in the future, in that there is no other way out than the restructuring of our economic system. As they say in your country, we must restructure it so that it sparkles with the grandeur of achievement, as was dreamt by the creators of the October Revolution. [end recording]

'Lifting of Veil' on 1968 Prague Events Urged

PM0611113989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 89 p 4

[Interview with Czechoslovak travel writer Jaromir Stetina by V. Kozin under the rubric "Meeting for You": "'We Are All in the Same Boat'"; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Kozin] There is a date in our common history—August 1968... This year I, too, have traveled around Czechoslovakia and seen cheerless faces among the general friendly smiles and heard uncomplimentary words addressed to me. There have been few such instances, but they have happened.

[Stetina] But what do people know about that event? I was 24 in 1968. I walked through the streets of Prague and spoke with Soviet soldiers. But... tanks rose up against speech! Why had the tanks come? We were asking one and the same question. But we did not hear the answer. It was a terrible, unexpected blow. The years 1945 and 1968—soldier-liberators and soldiers-who?...

[Kozin] It seems that there is still no official information on those events. Scrappy studies reach the pages of our newspapers. It seems to me personally that those events are being reinterpreted in the Soviet people's public consciousness...

[Stetina] Why do we look on perestroyka with hope and interest? You see, the processes which are taking place in the USSR today and which were happening in Czechoslovakia at that time are very similar. First, the economic reform—the departure from administrative-edict methods. Second, and chiefly, freedom of speech. What I was reading in Prague then, in 1968, I am reading today in Soviet newspapers.

[Kozin] What are your newspapers writing today about the 1968 events?

[Stetina] This is still an open question: Were the Soviet troops "invited" and, if so, who did this? The lack of information—official information about the events—leads to various kinds of rumors and fairy tales. Will this not affect relations between the two peoples? Why must we suspect each other of insincerity? Although, no, I am probably not quite right here. Former soldiers who had found themselves in Prague in 1968 repeatedly approached me during a tour of the union. They said: "I was there. Please forgive me. I was carrying out orders." I believe that the government and official circles must take a step and lift the veil from the events of 20 years ago. And this must be done at joint Soviet-Czechoslovak conferences—with a scientific and historical approach. This is our joint cause. And it will benefit both countries, for we are linked by thousands of threads—economic, cultural, family, moral... [passage omitted]

West Europe

Italy's Achille Occhetto Cited on Gorbachev Visit

PM0611140589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Italian Communist Party's Proposals"]

[Text] Rome, 4 Nov—Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party [PCI], has spoken of the importance of M.S. Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Italy. Addressing a press conference after a sitting of the PCI "shadow cabinet," he noted that within the framework of preparation for this visit A. Rubbi, a member of the PCI leadership, has made a trip to Moscow where he has met with the Soviet leader.

The leader of the Italian Communists stressed that the concluding document adopted at the "shadow cabinet" session expresses satisfaction with the position of the Italian Government with regard to the Soviet Union and other socialist states. In recent months, the document says, the prospects have expanded considerably for attaining agreements in the field of reducing nuclear and conventional arms and mutual understanding has been growing between East and West. The report of the forthcoming unofficial meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush has been confirmation of this positive process.

The document stresses that exceptionally positive changes have taken place in the international policy of the USSR and the East European countries. The document also contains a number of specific proposals aimed at ensuring that Italy plays a more active part in the international arena. In particular it points to the need to elaborate new concepts concerning questions of security and the reduction of conventional arms and to the importance of activating trade and economic ties.

Italian Foreign Minister on Soviet Reforms

90UI0095A Moscow TRUD in Russian
31 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis by TRUD correspondent P. Negoitsa: "No Turning Back"; Venice, 30 October]

[Text] [Negoitsa] There is frequently talk in Italy's political and business circles of the importance, for the West included, of the success of perestroyka in the USSR. Do you share this viewpoint?

[De Michelis] In my view, perestroyka is really important for the West for two reasons. One is obvious: The political, social and economic evolution being experienced by the Soviet Union has already made possible real detente. The first steps en route to disarmament have been taken. Let us hope that the positive dialogue which is taking hold leads to further steps in this direction. But, particularly, I believe, perestroyka will make it possible, despite the essential differences in social and economic systems, to expand the common base of dialogue for the achievement of further positive results. Until yesterday the two systems were in a state of mutual challenge which inevitably led to the "cold war" and tension. Today, as Gorbachev said, speaking in the United Nations, and this has been repeated recently, it would seem, by all political leaders of the Western countries, there is an opportunity for distinguishing elements which unite the social and economic systems. This is why the success of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and the reforms in Poland and Hungary are for the West also vitally necessary in the building of a better future.

[Negoitsa] You, Mr Minister, surely know what serious difficulties the renovation process is encountering in the USSR. Pessimistic voices predicting the failure of perestroyka are being heard in the West in this connection also. What is your view?

[De Michelis] I do not want to be either pessimistic or optimistic. If we proceed from the facts, it may be said, I believe, that there is in the Soviet Union objectively no turning back. There are realistically two paths—either the success of perestroyka or a state of anarchy. It it clear, therefore, what choice needs to be made. But much in the people's mood and in public opinion will depend on the objective state of affairs in the country.

[Negoitsa] In what way could the Western countries, Italy, in particular, assist perestroyka in the USSR, in your opinion?

[De Michelis] The situation in the Soviet Union differs from that which has come about in Poland or Hungary. The USSR is a big power. A country with a wealth of resources. We should not, therefore, be speaking of some assistance to the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, the West could do two things for the USSR: On the one hand, contribute to the detente process to ensure that ever more energy may be channeled into social and economic reforms, which should not be blocked or frozen by military spending; on the other, the West could specifically assist the success of the reforms in the other Central and East European countries—inasmuch as it is obvious that the lack of success or failure of the reforms in Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia and, in the future, in the GDR or Czechoslovakia would have a direct and powerful negative impact on the situation in the Soviet Union.

[Negoitsa] There remains just a month to the start of M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to Italy. What influence, in your view, will this visit exert on Soviet-Italian relations?

[De Michelis] We believe that the visit will raise relations between our countries to a new level. I personally believe that the propitious opportunities which have been afforded currently will lead to the further development of very good relations in the sphere of policy, the economy and culture between Italy and the Soviet Union. I believe also that the visit will be a specific contribution to East-West dialogue and the solution of most important matters of the coming year.

[Negoitsa] Thank you for the interview, Mr Minister.

Aganbegyan To Head Soviet-Swiss Business Venture

PM0611114189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[A. Kazakov report: "'Barometer' for Businessmen"]

[Text] "Zveno"—that is the Russian for the English word "Link," the name of the new Soviet-Swiss joint venture which was unveiled 1 November at the Center for International Trade and Scientific Research Ties With Foreign Countries.

"Link" is designed to comprehensively promote the establishment of economic ties between Soviet and foreign businessmen and in particular to help in the development of joint enterprise ventures in the USSR. One of the main functions of the joint venture is to provide information. In the West, as is well known, there is a definite dearth of information about the USSR. To a large extent that dearth will be filled by two periodicals published by "Link"—the journal BAROMETER and CONTACT DOSSIER, a range of information reports. Both publications will be issued to subscribers monthly in a single package.

A.G. Aganbegyan, academician-secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences economics department, has been elected chairman of the "Link" board.

Soviet-Swedish Agricultural Ties Discussed

90UI0100 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Nov 89 p 3

[TASS correspondent T. Larmokhin report: "Developing Cooperation"]

[Text] Soviet-Swedish cooperation in the field of agriculture is based on mutual interest in scientific and practical exchanges and has good prospects. This was discussed at a meeting here between A.F. Veprev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Agrarian Matters and Food, and Carl-Erik Olsson, chairman of the Riksdag (Parliament) Agriculture Commission.

At the request of the TASS correspondent the participants in the discussion shared their impressions of the exchange of opinions.

We are studying Swedish experience closely, A.F. Veprev said. Approximately 3 percent of the population is employed in this country's agriculture, but Sweden is not only completely self-sufficient in the basic foodstuffs here but exports many of them to the world market. Great significance is attached in the Soviet Union currently to the revival of the family farm. Sweden's experience in this matter could be useful for our country also. Our delegation intends also to study in greater depth the system of Swedish agricultural cooperatives. We must make use of the best of foreign experience in the interests of perestroyka.

Soviet agriculture, C.-E. Olsson observed, has tremendous potential. We would be happy were Sweden's experience to assist its fuller and more efficient use. We welcome the contacts which have begun and are ready to continue and develop them.

CPSU Delegation Returns From Irish CP Congress

PM0611163189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by M.A. Knyazyuk, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Ivanovo CPSU Oblast Committee, which took part in the work of the 20th Communist Party of Ireland Congress, returned from Dublin to Moscow 2 November.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. Congress 'Anti-Nicaraguan' Resolution Hit

PY0611234789 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0330 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Marina Petrovskaya commentary]

[Text] The U.S. House of Representatives has approved by a majority vote an anti-Nicaraguan resolution which grants $4 million worth of so-called humanitarian aid for the contras. Analyst Marina Petrovskaya discusses the subject.

This resolution in essence allows the continuation of the dirty war against Nicaragua. The Somosa forces have lately increased their terrorist actions in several parts of Nicaragua by killing civilians and Sandinist soldiers. As witnessed by the [word indistinct], this has not happened by chance. Many contras turned themselves into the Nicaraguan authorities when and amnesty was declared. They admitted that they received orders from their leaders in Honduras to cross the border and, by means of terror and threat, forced civilians to vote for the opposition candidates.

Suprisingly, the Somosa forces have not aimed at more ambitious goals. Instead of being condemned by Washington they are receiving complementary aid from it. Curiously, this new [word indistinct] for the contras coincides with the granting of $9 million to finance the electoral campaign of the Nicaraguan opposition, just when Mrs Violeta de Chamorro has received $3 million for herself.

Such U.S. Government (?aid) for the Nicaraguan rightist sectors alarms the Nicaraguan and the international communities. Elections will be held in Nicaragua in a few months following the national democratization process which is being conducted in keeping with the commitments assumed by the Nicaraguan Government, according to (?intelligence reports) from Guatemala and Honduras.

This democratization process cannot be normal since confrontations between contras and [word indistinct] are increasing, and these are the responsibility of the United States. As is known, the Sandinist authorities have been forced to suspend the cessation of military operation against the Somosa forces, which had been in effect since May 1988.

Meanwhile, Washington has accused the Sandinists of violating democracy and of hindering a [word indistinct] political solution.

[words indistinct] such an evaluation of the Sandinist action is unjust in order to achieve peace and security in the region, including Nicaragua, it is necessary that all the parties involved in the conflict make an effort, not just one.

Look at the situation in El Salvador these days. It looked like the conditions for a cease-fire had improved and this is why we applauded the negotiations between the government [words indistinct]. But the progress made was rejected by the rightist groups which refused to hold constructive negotiations. This is why the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] refuses to hold the third round of negotiations until the government officials change their old methods of solving internal problems without guaranteeing the security of the leftist forces.

It seems to me that the events taking place in Nicaragua and El Salvador are similar because the peace efforts in the two countries are being obstructed by military forces financed by the U.S. Government, which continues to keep a heated environment in those countries and to look for solutions from a position of force.

Chilean Youth Movement Member On Group Activities

PY1710194589 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Report on interview with Liliana Medina, representative of the Sebastian Acevedo Movement against Torture, by Radio Moscow correspondent Rolando Carrasco in Helsinki, Finland; date not given]

[Excerpts] The Sebastian Acevedo Movement against Torture has participated in the International Conference on Human Rights and Democracy in Chile that took place in Helsinki, Finland, last month. At that time we gave broad coverage to that conference in our programs. Liliana Medina, representative of that movement, talked extensively with our special correspondent Rolando Carrasco at that conference.

She gave an account of the origin of that movement and its first public appearance on 14 December 1983 in front of the Borgono headquarters of the CNI [National Intelligence Center] to denounce that torture was practiced there. She also talked about the development and growth of that movement from its initial membership of 45 people to a membership of 400 people at this time. She said that torture is not only practiced in Santiago, but also in Concepcion, Talca, Chillan, Arica, and Valparaiso.

The Sebastian Acevedo Movement against Torture has come to the public's attention, not only in Chile but in the whole world for its method of operation. Their members gather at a site, voice their protest, sing, and then disappear as the police show up. Frequently, the police cannot find them. Sometimes, however, the police have found and caught them. In those cases, the police administered beatings just as violent as those they administer to the rest of the Chileans who oppose the dictatorship or condemn some of its practices.

How do you stage demonstrations? What is your motivation? What do you hope to achieve?

[Begin Liliana Medina recording] Actions are planned in two stages. The first stage is proposing and coordinating an action; the second stage is carrying out that action. At this time we have to consider the size of our membership and choose nearly 40 people who are in charge of what we call the base groups. These groups are formed taking into account the place where our members work or the place they live. We plan an action in several aspects, seeking to denounce what we believe should be denounced. The object of our denunciation is clearly written on fabric signs so that the public can see just exactly why we are protesting. We time our demonstrations taking into account how many people can witness them and the possible repression we can run into at a given site. The idea is to avoid arrest and detention again and again, because people's will can thus be broken. We also deploy watchers to forewarn us when the police are coming and to distribute pamphlets. In general, those are the tasks we perform.

On the other hand, it is very valuable for us to evaluate each action. Although it is risky to say this, I have no doubt that the police by now know we are not a clandestine group; that we are just Chileans. Many of us have been arrested more than once and our personal data has been taken down. It seems important that we should continue to improve our preparation and our discipline on the streets. Our people should not take to the street alone. We have equal numbers of female and male members. So if a female is arrested, another female must let herself be arrested to keep her company. Many times the Carabineros have let us go because it is difficult to arrest 40 people. Group unity has been very important in these cases, as have been a common objective and shared responsibility. This does not mean that our people are regimented. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Great Oct Socialist Revolution Anniversary Marked

TV Broadcasts Military Parade

LD0711073389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0655 GMT on 7 November begins carrying a live relay from Moscow's Red Square on the occasion of the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

At 0656 GMT the video shows a long shot of Red Square; a large banner with the slogan "Democracy, Self-Management, and Glasnost, October" hangs on the State History Museum of Lenin and a large "1917" banner is also displayed.

At 0657 GMT the leaders mount the rostrum. Gorbachev is followed by Nikolay Ryzhkov, with the video showing a distant shot of other leaders. Gorbachev checks the time; the video then switches to shots of the crowd in Red Square.

At 0700 GMT the military parade begins. Moscow garrison Commander Kalinin and Defense Minister Yazov approach each other, driven in separate cars. Yazov takes Kalinin's salute and then greets the Fruze Academy troops and the other assembled troops. The announcer lists the other troops on parade, including all the arms of the Armed Forces. The announcer says the parade is not a demonstration of Soviet military might but is a festive review of the Armed Forces. Troops who have served in Afghanistan are present.

At 0708 GMT the video pans Red Square and shows a large portrait of Lenin hanging from one of the buildings.

At 0709 GMT Defense Minister Yazov mounts the rostrum. At 0710 GMT he delivers the following speech:

"Servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces, working people of the Soviet Union, esteemed foreign guests, comrades! I welcome and congratulate you on the national holiday, the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR]. The Great October Revolution marked the start of a new epoch of social progress. The world's first socialist state was created by the revolutionary creativity of the masses of working people and under the leadership of the party of Lenin. Along the road opened up by the October Revolution our country has attained major achievements and has been transformed into a mighty power. Soviet people are by rights proud of that.

"Socialism and its values have become an inalienable and influential component of human civilization. The Soviet people are now implementing radical perestroyka of all aspects of the life of our society. The decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the September Central Committee Plenum, and the CPSU platform on the nationalities policy of the Party in modern conditions have received broad support. The first Congress of People's Deputies was a significant event in the life of the country and in the process of the nationwide renewal of Soviet society. It gave new momentum to the development of democratization and glasnost and to the creation of a new law-governed state, and consolidated the guarantees of the irreversible nature of perestroyka.

"Active law-making work has been developed in the USSR Supreme Soviet. The typical features of the present day are the growth of the social, political, and labor activity of the people, the practical transformation of economic and political structures and the mastering of new forms and methods of economic management. Millions of Soviet people link their fate, their interests, and the future of the country and of socialism with perestroyka.

"The foundations and principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet state, which were underpinned legislatively by the Congress of People's Deputies, have given rise to a huge international response. They are permeated with the ideas of a great new [pauses]...combat [pauses]...political thinking.

"Proceeding from the primacy of common human interests, the Soviet Union and the allied socialist countries direct their efforts toward a relaxation of the military threat. The unilateral reduction in armed forces, begun by the Soviet state, and the transfer of a section of military production to civilian needs have received the approval and support of the Soviet people, the world public, and the leaders of many states. This creates favorable opportunities for curbing the arms race, reducing military expenditure, and settling regional conflicts.

"However, in a number of countries there are still influential circles who continue to be guided by the aims inherited from the cold war. The irreversibility of the positive processes which have been started is not yet guaranteed. This is taken into account by the Communist Party and the Soviet State in its policy in the sphere of the defense and security of the country. Effectiveness if being ensured by the transition to new qualitative parameters of the maintenance of the country's defense capability at the level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency.

"The Soviet Union conducts its defense policy in close interaction with the other participant countries of the Warsaw Pact. Perestroyka is expanding and being consolidated in the Armed Forces of our state, as in all spheres of the life of Soviet society. The combat readiness of the troops is improving, the personnel are perfecting their skills, and discipline and order are being strengthened in multi-ethnic soliders' collectives. Preparations for the regular 28th CPSU Congress have unfolded in the Army and Navy party organizations, preparations that are oriented toward the further cohesion of communists and all personnel around the Communist Party.

"The Armed Forces of the USSR are vigilantly and reliably guarding the creative work of the Soviet people and the achievements of socialism, and are ensuring the complete security of a country which is implementing a revolutionary perestroyka for its entire life.

"Hurrah, comrades!"

Yazov finishes speaking at 0715 GMT. The assembled troops shout, the national anthem resounds. The video pans the mausoleum and the assembled troops. Yazov salutes the crowd.

The video shows shots of the crowd, reviewed by Yazov, flanked by Gorbachev and Ryzhkov. A long-distance shot of the lineup in front of the mausoleum is shown, too distant for identification. There are no flags seen in the crowd, but mounted red banners are seen waving at the square's entrance.

At 0719 GMT Kalinin takes the salute to begin the military parade. He proceeds by car ahead of marching troops and standard bearer, military academy bands. Among those academies represented are the Frunze Military Academy, the Lenin Military Political Academy, the Dzerzhinskiy Academy, the Malinovskiy Tank Academy, the Kuybyshev and Timoshenko Academies, the Gagarin Academy, the Professor Zhukovskiy Academy, and the Popov Leningrad Naval Radio-Electronics Academy. Also represented are the assault guards, the Moscow border troops named after Mossoviet, and the Soviet Marines.

At 0728 GMT the video shows the Dzerzhinskiy internal troops division, representatives of the Suvorov Academy, Nakhimov troops, and the RSFSR Moscow High Command School.

As these groups file past, the announcers exchange comments on the problems in the Army, such as bullying, social issues such as housing, and the implications of cutting defense allocations.

At 0732 GMT Red Square is rearranged to make room for the mechanized weaponry. At this point the announcer speaks of the new climate and the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

At 0733 GMT Taman Guards Division enters the square, followed by armored personnel carriers, Kantemir Tank Guards Division, an artillery column, missile launchers in formation as air defense units cross the square. The announcers comment that the large missiles are not on display today. A brief glimpse of the leader lineup is followed by massed military bands as the military parade ends at 0739 GMT.

The announcers exchange remarks on the superiority of the military band music over modern music; military bandsmen march in formation across the square, in geometrical patterns.

At 0744 GMT the military bandsmen move off the square and the festive parade of citizens begins. It is led by Moscow rayons, with the standards of Moscow rayons held high. Large flags are carried, as well as flowers.

At 0747 GMT young children mount the mausoleum to present flowers to the leaders. Gorbachev, Ryzhkov and other leaders accept the flowers from the children. The video then shows the parade of the Moscow rayons, showing balloons, flowers, and posters of Marx and Lenin.

At 0751 GMT a correspondent in Red Square interviews People's Deputy Borodulin, who comments on the importance of the worker being able to feel as if he is part of the action. He agrees with the correspondent that one of today's priority tasks is to ensure the CPSU has a genuinely leading role and it remains the political vanguard of society. The cameras focus on banners bearing slogans such as "Our people made a choice in October 1917; we will abide by that course," and "All power to the soviets."

At 0755 GMT the cameras pan the mausoleum lineup.

At 0758 GMT People's Deputies Pivovarov and Orekhov are interviewed on the square concerning the role of the soviets. Young children are shown climbing over a flower-bedecked tank.

At 0804 GMT the leaders are shown waving from the mausoleum as the festive parade continues. The following leaders are shown—from left to right on the screen—standing on the Lenin Mausoleum:

Lizichev, Kochetov, Lushev, Moiseyev, Yazov, unidentified male, Razumovskiy, unidentified female, an unidentified male, Lukyanov, Biryukova, Medvedev, an unidentified male, Yakovlev, Zaykov, another unidentified male, Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, Ligachev, Maslyukov, Shevardnadze, Vorotnikov, Kryuchkov, Vlasov, Pugo, two unidentified males, Manayenkov, Primakov, an unidentified male, and Usmanov.

At 0807 GMT a correspondent has the following live interview with U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock in Red Square:

"[Correspondent] On ceremonial days, leaders of the diplomatic corps are usually present in Red Square. They take up positions on a special tribune to the left of the Mausoleum. However, Jack Matlock, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States to the USSR, is not on that tribune today, because he is here as a guest of our broadcast.

"Mr Matlock, what did you feel when it was suggested that you give an interview on Red Square on the anniversary of our revolution.

"[Matlock—in Russian] Well, it seemed to me that this would give me an opportunity to congratulate all Soviet people on the occasion of the national holiday; and I congratulate you.

"[Correspondent] Thank you. Mr Matlock, your arrival in Moscow as ambassador—if I am not mistaken, it was in April 1987—coincided with cardinal changes in the life of our country. Tell me, please, how you assess the current situation in the USSR.

"[Matlock] Well, of course, it is clear that major changes are now taking place. We are, of course, observers of this process. We are foreigners, but we understand that the changes which are taking place here in the Soviet Union are to the benefit not only of Soviet people, but also of us, and to the benefit of the entire world.

"[Correspondent] Speaking recently at a meeting with journalists, you said that Soviet-U.S. relations are becoming ever better. What, in your view, could slow this forward movement, and what on the contrary, could promote it?

"[Matlock] Well, of course, I would say it would be promoted first of all by meetings between our leaders, like the forthcoming meetings on ships in the Mediterranean Sea. Of course such meetings help a great deal.

"What could slow it down? Well, it is hard to say, unless of course there is a slowdown in the perestroyka process. That could also have a negative effect on our relations.

"[Correspondent] Thank you for the interview, Mr Ambassador."

At 0811 GMT Finland's ambassador to the USSR is interviewed and says that the atmosphere of Gorbachev's visit to Finland was very warm, and the visit itself was historic. She says Finland enjoys a high standard of living and ecology is high on the agenda as a priority concern.

At 0814 GMT Gorbachev is shown speaking with Ryzhkov as ballons fly over the square. The announcer quotes a slogan that there is no dissension in interethnic relations: the heart of Moscow is open to all if they come in peace. A float bearing the words "CPSU: The Party of Perestroyka" moves past.

At 0818 GMT correspondent Flyarkovskiy interviews People's Deputy Lubenchenko who has been involved in the Geneva conference on human rights. Lubenchenko summarizes the progress made on discussing the draft law to be debated in the Supreme Soviet next week.

[At 0820 GMT Moscow Domestic Service, in its live broadcast of the proceedings in Red Square, notes the Soviet leaders present. One of the Moscow Radio announcers says: "The festive demonstration continues. On the central platform of the mausoleum are Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Kryuchkov, Ligachev, Maslyukov, Medvedev, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Primakov, Pugo, Razumovskiy, Yazov, Baklanov, Girenko, Manayenkov, Stroyev, Usmanov. Here, too, are eminent Soviet military leaders."]

At 0821 GMT a banner saying "No! To Extremism In Interethnic Relations" is shown, closely followed by huge posters of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and a large number of balloons.

At 0825 GMT a correspondent interviews film director (Proskin) on the need to remember those who have given up their lives for the future, which is our today.

At 0828 GMT Gorbachev, up on the mausoleum, gives the following impromptu interview to an unidentified Moscow TV correspondent:

"[Correspondent] Hello, Mikhail Sergeyevich, compliments of the season!

"[Gorbachev] Compliments of the season! I compliment you.

"[Correspondent] Thank you. I see that you are in an excellent mood.

"[Gorbachev] Yes, I have to say that during these days one always rises above any kind of matters of the moment, and thinks about our great cause. After all, for us October is a turning point; and I think not only for us. after all, This is a turning point in our civilization's destiny, and the ideals and slogans which were on the October banners guide us today, too. I would like to say this on this day, watching this festive throng on this Kremlin square of ours, Red Square, because at present, when we are thinking of the country's future, we are of course, in tackling the tasks of perestroyka, returning to everything that has been lived through and experienced; we are making assessments. this is difficult work, this is courageous work, but it is essential to us.

"We have made it our aim to regenerate our society, renew the country, according to the principles by which the Bolsheviks led the working class, the working masses to revolution. I think that we can now say that, after the last 2 difficult years, and all the years of perestroyka, when we have delved into our country's history, and have subjected the whole of our history to uncompromising analysis, we are convinced that in principle the choice of October is the true one, and the ideals of October are our ideals. That is what I am primarily thinking about, and look at the slogans I am looking at: Perestroyka, perestroyka, and against those who are against perestroyka, such slogans. [sentence as heard] In general, people are in favor of proceeding resolutely, more resolutely, along the road of perestroyka. I think that this is simply the current slogan of the day. We have left the old forms. I was saying this not so long ago to economists, and they are thereby, to some extent, either already not working, or working to a small degree. But we have not yet entered the new forms, and there is thereby a sort of loss, a weakening of management. As for turning back, this would be a mistake, a very great mistake. This means that we must go forward, faster, toward new forms, to master the new forms of life. That is why I think that there is already an understanding of this among the people and within society.

"[Correspondent] Well, I also noticed that in the Red Square today there is a new slogan: Perestroyka—the new face of socialism.

"[Gorbachev] Yes, well, I think that socialism has not come into its own as a system, as a structure. However, at the same time I think that when we speak of socialist renewal, we tie this up, above all, with the elevation of man. Well, after all, socialism can be described simply as the working people having followed the Bolsheviks, for a new life, for a life where the rank-and-file person feels good and confident, where he feels he is in charge of the destiny of himself and his country alike. Everything, then, is simple—everything else is just details, entailing the form in which this ought to be implemented. And I think that perestroyka, through democracy, glasnost, through economic life becoming more democratic, through the handover of power to the soviets—that is to say through democratization and the handover of economic power to the working people, through introducing people to spiritual culture and political processes, elevates man, and this is the most important thing.

"In the midst of these difficulties, at this currently very difficult section of perestroyka, when unresolved problems connected both with food and the situation in the market, and what concerns people, and the fact that, as it were, life contributes elements of irritation, when these hang over us as the sword of Damocles—and I will allow myself this expression, harsh though it is—it is very important for us not to forget this main thing, that we have begun to move along precisely this path. Well, a slogan was here, a simple one, and I simply vote for it. The slogan is simple: We are for socialism as Lenin saw it; that's it. And I think that the renewed socialism represents the Leninist concept come true. It is man, the working man, that is at the center of this concept.

"[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich, usually we talk about the people who are marching by in Red Square in festive ranks. Well, what, in your view from the mausoleum's rostrum, is the distinguishing feature of this, today's demonstration?

"[Gorbachev] You know, it is more democratic. There is no pomposity. That got my attention. All the people came primarily as their normal selves. That is the main thing. That is the first thing. The second thing is, there they are, you see; they have stopped by the rostrum. The children have stopped by the rostrum and [chuckles] simply want to have a look. They feel calm, and there is nobody urging them on [chuckles] so to speak. It is very democratic. That is the first thing.

"The second [as heard] thing is that I like the fact that people have come out for this demonstration with slogans which are very much in accordance with the current situation, and the desire to overcome and bid farewell to the old system of administering by command and injunction, and also to defeat excessive bureaucracy.

"At the same time how much interesting news I have already read here. Sixteen thousand communal apartments are being reconstructed and refurbished and handed over to the working people in one rayon. A hospital is coming into being in another rayon. In a third rayon, labor productivity has risen 24 percent. I am just citing what is in these slogans here. And that means that people understand that in the final analysis the success of perestroyka is linked with the labor of the working class, the working people. And that is present here. It is a distinctive feature. I think we have had our meetings. There will be more meetings and discussions. Discussions are here forever. We need these discussions. That is democracy, that is life in a socialist society. But today people increasingly understand that the decisive success of perestroyka is linked with constructive work, creative work, with organization, discipline and order. I think that is all combined (?here).

"[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich, what would you like to wish people today on the 72d anniversary of the October Revolution?

"[Gorbachev] Perhaps that's what we should have started with, but then perhaps we began with the October Revolution, and also did the right thing. I want to use this opportunity—and incidentally this is also a first for perestroyka, the first time an interview has been given from the mausoleum—I want to wish our Soviet people new, good achievements. I want to wish our country renewal. In conclusion I congratulate everyone cordially and warmly on behalf of the entire leadership of the country on our main festival, the festival of the Great October Revolution.

"[Correspondent] Thank you."

At 0837 GMT the interview concludes.

The announcer remarks on the reconstruction work done in Moscow, which has improved the city's face.

At 0841 GMT a correspondent interviews a New Zealand parliamentarian, (Terry Scott) who is particularly concerned with the environment and the ozone layer damage in the South Pacific. He says the New Zealand Government is drafting harsh laws on environmental issues, but support from all countries is needed to bring results.

At 0844 GMT Yablokov, deputy chairman of the state committee for environmental protection, comments that ecological issues have been raised at the current Supreme Soviet session, and that it is high time that harsh penalties were brought in for ecological crimes. An ecological procurator's office has already been set up in the south Urals, and progress is being made in this direction.

At 0847 GMT the video shows a long shot of Red Square and then close-up of Ryzhkov and Gorbachev.

At 0850 GMT Zoya Petrovna Krylova, editor of the high-circulation RABOTNITSA magazine, is interviewed. She says this is a crucial year, with women's issues being raised on a wide scale.

At 0852 GMT the video shows a close-up of the mausoleum line-up, leaders waving; ecological slogans on floats calling for clean air, "mercy on nature and toward man." Children continue climbing over tanks at the side of the square.

At 0853 GMT a people's deputy, head of the Rotor Association, explains his successes in raising output efficiency and resolving social issues.

At 0859 GMT the video shows a long shot of Red Square, a banner calling on Soviet women to have care for the well-being of the family and take an active part in labor. Announcers comment on the current economic problems: many think perhaps perestroyka is to blame, but the concomitant advances show that is not the case. Pop music takes are heard, then back to the bands as the camera pans the mausoleum lineup, revealing yet more unidentified figures among the leaders.

At 0905 GMT Gorbachev is shown leaning over the edge of the mausoleum exchanging comments with the people. His remarks are inaudible.

The video shows a final view of the flags flying as the relay ends at 0907 GMT.

TASS Describes Parade

LD0711080189 Moscow TASS in English 0744 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy from the Red Square:

Columns of troops were lined up in the country's main square.

The Spasskiy Tower clock chimed ten hours. General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet minister of defence, heard a report by Colonel General Nikolay Kalinin, commander of the parade, and reviewed the troops. Then Yazov mounted the mausoleum tribune and made a speech.

A march-past of troops began. Battalions of officer cadets of military academies and schools, paratroopers and marines marched past Lenin Mausoleum. Outwardly everything was seemingly the same as in previous years.

But this, 118th, parade, according to its commander Kalinin, has its own distinguishing features brought about by democracy and openness developing in the country.

The military parade included the minimum number of battalions marching on foot and military hardware. Their number was tailored to worthily represent all arms and services of the Soviet Armed Forces.

A mechanised column of armoured personnel carriers and motorised infantry vehicles of the Taman Motorised Rifle Division rumbled past followed by a column of only 25 tanks of the Cantemir Tank Division. This is a tangible reminder that this year the numerical strength of the Soviet Army was cut down by 6,680 tanks.

Missile and anti-aircraft missile troops rolled by. There were no strategic missiles in this parade. This is a reaffirmation of new political thinking the exercise of which led to the elimination of a whole class of nuclear weapons—shorter-range missiles—in the Soviet Union by October 27.

The 118th military parade can be with good reason viewed not only as a demonstration of Soviet military might but also as a report by the Armed Forces to their state and the people about the work done during perestroika.

Revival of Tradition Noted

LD0711081789 Moscow TASS in English 0808 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—By TASS special correspondent from the Red Square:

A festive demonstration began in Moscow's Red Square after the march-past of combat hardware and the massed band of the Soviet Armed Forces that introduced the final touch to the military parade in honour of the national holiday of the Soviet Union—the 72nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution —with a major chord.

Lively music is played. Representative of all 28 districts of Moscow enter the square. Among them are the personnel of Moscow factories, institutions, higher learning establishments and other organisations.

The tradition of people's festive demonstrations originated 71 years ago here in the Red Square where the young Soviet republic marked its first anniversary in 1918.

This year's festive demonstration substantially differs from the previous ones. The festive decor of the demonstrators' columns is more austere. Herein is the revival of the revolutionary traditions and the manifestation of the spirit of perestroyka which has encompassed all spheres of the political, economic and social life of the Soviet Union.

Today the Muscovites show devotion to the ideals of socialism, which can be proved only by deeds and by making a real contribution to the prosperity of the country.

This is why there are no general calls on banners and placards carried by the demonstrators. Instead, there is specific information on the results achieved over the years of perestroyka.

'Authorized' Alternative March Held

LD0711114989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, 7 Nov (TASS)—[passage omitted] At the same time as the festival demonstration by the working people of the capital in Red Square today, the Moscow Voters' Association [Moskovskoye Obyedinyeniye Izbirateley], the Russian People's Front, and other spontaneous public associations organized an authorized alternative march along the Sadovoye Koltso Beltway. Individuals taking part made an attempt to alter the agreed route of the march. However, this did not gain the support of the majority of those assembled. A mass meeting was held at the Olympic Complex on Prospekt Mira, at which several members of an interregional group of deputies spoke.

U.S. Ambassador Greets Soviets

LD0711093389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0655 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Interview with U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock by unidentified correspondent, in Moscow, at festivities marking the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Esteemed comrades, as well as guests from the Soviet Union there are a great many foreign guests here, and of high—even the highest—diplomatic rank. Our correspondent is about to interview the U.S. Ambassador to our country, Jack Matlock.

[Correspondent] You consider yourself to be half-Muscovite; at least, you have spent more than a decade in Moscow, and your last son was, incidentally, born in Moscow, too.

[Matlock—in Russian] Yes, our last son was born here; we have a real Muscovite.

[Correspondent] What would you like to wish Muscovites, and perhaps all Soviet people, on such a day?

[Matlock] Well, of course, we wish all Soviet people happiness, health, and success—especially success in the task of perestroyka.

[Correspondent] Mr Ambassador, a few words about the forthcoming meeting between Gorbachev and President Bush.

[Matlock] Yes, of course, I consider that this meeting will be a very important event, because it will give our leaders an opportunity to discuss the most important issues of the contemporary world, and that is, of course, extraordinarily important.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much for the interview.

CSSR's Ambassador Interviewed

LD0711120789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0759 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Interview with CSSR Ambassador Jindrich Rehorek by an unidentified correspondent in Moscow's Red Square festivities marking the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—live]

[Text] [Announcer] On the tribune where the microphones are set up there are guests from foreign countries, too. Moreover, among them are the top-ranking diplomats accredited to the USSR. We will conduct several interviews. First to speak is Jindrich Rehorek, ambassador of Czechoslovakia to our country.

[Rehorek in Czech, fading to announcer-read translation] The ambassador of Czechoslovakia says that a Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Month is beginning in that country. Political and cultural events will be held. We will demonstrate in practice what we have achieved in the implementation of the ideas from Great October, for our workers and to raise the people's standard of living, notes Jindrich Rehorek in particular. From here, Red Square, allow me to also congratulate the Czechoslovak citizens, who remember the behests of Great October. Sirens will sound at noon today in my motherland in memory of that great event, which initiated a new era in the history of mankind. We can say, continues the ambassador, that the Communists of Czechoslovakia learned from Great October throughout the 30 years that preceded the socialist revolution in our country. After the working people took power into their own hands, the construction of socialism began under the party's leadership. New production relations were created; all this is reflected in the country's life today.

I do not want to over-embellish things, stresses Comrade Rehorek, but one cannot avoid stating that Czechoslovakia is among those countries which have the highest standard of living. Our real life confirms that democracy does not exist by itself, but serves the interests of man and his happiness. The participation of man in the democratic process is participation in the administration of the state and a decision to serve one's country. [Rehorek continues in Russian, "I would like to cordially congratulate everyone on our common holiday, and to wish success in perestroyka in your country and in Czechoslovakia]

Protesters Stage March

AU0711101189 Paris AFP in English 1004 GMT 07 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 7 (AFP)—Thousands of protestors marked the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution here Tuesday by demanding an end to the dominant role of the Communist Party.

It was the first time police had allowed protestors to stage an alternative march on the anniversary.

In Yerevan, the Armenian capital, nationalists burnt red flags as they marched through the town centre after a small official ceremony to mark the 72nd anniversary of the revolution, AFP correspondents there reported.

The traditional military march-past in Red Square was a low-key affair, lasting about 20 minutes and involving less military hardware than in the past.

Tens of thousands of Muscovites waving balloons, flowers, flags and placards followed, marching past Lenin's mausoleum from where the Soviet leadership, including President Mikhail Gorbachev, watched and waived.

Meanwhile, about 4,000 people waving banners and flags, held a counterdemonstration along one of the capital's main thoroughfares.

The demonstrators, who included parliamentary Deputy Telman Gdlyan, carried placards calling for the repeal of Article 6 of the constitution which gives the Communist Party a leading role in society. The demonstration, called by the anticommunist Democratic Union and the Moscow Popular Front, also denounced Politburo hardliner Yegor Ligachev.

"For us it is a day of mourning, the anniversary of the 1917 coup d'etat," one of the demonstrators told AFP.

The police escort prevented the crowd from heading towards the Red Square, but otherwise allowed them to proceed freely, correspondents said.

In Yerevan, a small official wreath-laying ceremony was following by an unofficial nationalist demonstration through the town centre, involving 2,000 people at the start with numbers growing as the procession advanced, a correspondent said.

A dozen conscripts, who are refusing to do military service outside their republic, led the crowd, picking off festive red flags posted along the way and setting them alight. The demonstration had been called by the National Armenian Union, a small nationalist movement headed by Moses Gordisian.

The official parade in Moscow began with the traditional military march-past, involving officer cadets from various academies, paratroopers, including veterans of the war in Afghanistan, Kremlin guards, Interior Ministry troops and sailors.

Watched over by a huge portrait of Lenin, the father of the revolution, troop transporters, light armoured vehicles, old T-72 tanks and short-range nuclear missiles on their carriers swiftly swept past.

Defence Minister Dmitri Yazov said current cutbacks in the armed forces had the support of the Soviet and other people.

And the television commentator said the parade "was not meant as a demonstration of military might, but as a holiday."

The military were followed by tens of thousands of Muscovites, with banners with such slogans as "Democratization" and "Glasnost."

There was no reference however to Marxism-Leninism, and only one slogan mentioning Lenin himself. There were 16 official slogans, compared to 25 last year. The term "solidarity" with eastern bloc neighbours was this year replaced by "warm greetings," a sign of Moscow's new hands off policy in Eastern Europe.

Mr. Gorbachev, interviewed on the mausoleum by television, said the parade was "democratic" and reflected the will of the people to break with the past.

"The success of perestroika is linked to the hard work and discipline of the workers," he also said.

Next to him stood all the other members of the Politburo.

The only portraits displayed were those of Lenin, with a sole picture of Gorbachev briefly shown by television amidst the crowd.

In Vilnius, the capital of the Baltic republic of Lithuania, where nationalists have been agitating for greater autonomy from Moscow, the official military parade was the largest organised there for the past 10 years, according to a spokesman for the local popular front movement, Sajudis.

A number of young people held up placards reading: "Red Army go home" and "We do not want to serve in an army of occupation," the spokesman for the pro-independence movement said.

About 20 more youths tried to block the military parade by standing in its way on a street, but they were quickly moved on, the spokesman added. There were no reports of any arrests.

Demonstrators in Soviet Georgia were also publicly burning red flags put out to celebrate the Bolshevik Revolution, according to Zviad Gamsakhurdia, a nationalist leader reached by telephone in Tbilisi.

The official celebrations were cancelled, he added, saying notice of this had been given in the local press.

Meanwhile, crowds, numbering tens of thousands, were holding meetings in the Georgian capital, while police stood by.

Two people were arrested Monday night as they were taking down red flags on public buildings, Mr. Gamsakhurdia also said. One of them was later reported to be in hospital, he added.

Further on Protests in Armenia

AU0711125089 Paris AFP in English 1241 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Michel Mouteau report]

[Text] Yerevan, Soviet Union, Nov 7 (AFP)—Armenians turned the 72nd anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution Tuesday into a day of mourning and protest as nationalists, bent on independence, marched through the republic's capital burning the red flag.

It was the first time the Soviet flag was publicly burned in Yerevan. An estimated 3,000 marchers staged a generally solemn counterdemonstration fanned by nationalist pride and the bloody territorial dispute with neighboring Azerbaijan that has revived ethnic resentment.

Though few militiamen were stationed along the route, a few scuffles occurred when one tried to defend the Soviet flag while others tried to arrest five adolescents egging them on.

They were quickly overtaken by the crowd and forced to release the marchers.

The demonstration followed a perfunctory official ceremony in which some 500 people watched local authorities quickly placed a wreath at the statue of Lenin and at monuments to Armenian heroes.

Authorities had chosen not to stage an official march this year, after the small turnout for last year's parade was quickly overwhelmed by a huge counterdemonstration called by Armenian nationalists.

Though the main nationalist movements did not urge supporters into the streets this year, the small National Armenian Union headed by Moses Gordissyan kept up the tradition.

The marchers, starting from Lenin's statue, were headed by a large group carrying black flags embroidered with a bell.

"The flag of mourning and the bell of alarm," they explained, while Mr. Gordissyan proclaimed November 7 "a day of mourning for Armenia and for the whole world".

Other marchers carried a huge banner linking the hammer and sickle of the red flag with the star and the crescent of the mainly Moslem Azeris in neighboring Azerbaijan.

They said it symbolized what they called the "collusion between the Kremlin and the Azeris against Armenians".

A dozen young men wearing Army jackets led the cortege, all conscripts who are refusing to do military service outside their republic.

Other marchers distributed tracts repeating the lastest Armenian rumor that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is of Azeri origin.

The march followed the first regional conference by Armenian nationalists, in which 40 groups formed one movement this weekend to discuss the growing demands here for Armenia's independence from Moscow.

One of the leaders, Levon Ter Petrosyan, said "independence" would mean total sovereignty within the framework of the Soviet federation.

The delegates failed to reach common ground on the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh, however.

The autonomous enclave lies within Azerbaijan, but its Armenian-majority wants it merged with Armenia.

A compromise proposal that it be made a fully fledged Soviet republic only triggered violent opposition from staunch separatists.

Moldavians Demonstrate at Parade

AU0711140789 Paris AFP in English 1349 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 7 (AFP)—Hundreds of nationalist demonstrators Tuesday stopped tanks and military vehicles from taking part in the annual military parade in the Moldavian capital of Kishinev, a spokesman for the local popular front said.

The vice-president of the unofficial Moldavian Popular Front, Georgi Malarchuk, said that the popular front supporters staged a sit-in on the street near the city centre and stopped the tanks from reaching the square where the western republic's assembled leadership was waiting.

"Not even an army motorcycle got through," Mr. Malarchuk said, contacted by telephone.

An earlier sit-in outside the city centre was broken up by police, he added.

Mr. Malarchuk said that the popular front was opposed to the military parade marking the anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

Nevertheless the organisation successfully applied for the first time this year to take part in the march-past by the city's workers, which follows the show of military hardware.

But when the 5,000 popular front members, carrying banners, reached Victory Square, Moldavian President

Mirsha Snegur "looked dismayed" and abruptly left the viewing platform with the other local leaders, Mr. Malarchuk said.

"The television suddenly switched to the parade in Moscow" at that point, he said.

The local communist leaders were apparently upset by the popular front's banners, which proclaimed "down with the mafia" and stressed nationalist aspirations.

Communist Party authorities had warned the front "not to use unauthorised slogans", Mr. Malarchuk said. "But how can we go to the parade and not use our slogans," he added.

Central Committee Issues Message

LD0511100889 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] A gala meeting will be held in Moscow today to celebrate the 72d anniversary of the socialist revolution in Russia. It will be attended by leaders of the Communist party and state, party veterans, advanced workers and guests from abroad.

In its address to the nation, issued on the occasion of the anniversary, the Party's Central Committee urged the Soviet people to actively join the campaign for renovating socialism and democratising Soviet society. It emphasized the inseparable links between the revolutionary ideals and restructuring. The party's Central Committee also called upon other nations to joint efforts for the sake of strengthening peace and preserving this planet for the future generations. On Monday the public in the various (Soviet) population centers will lay flowers at the monuments to Vladimir Lenin and at memorials in memory of the 1917 revolution. On Tuesday 7th there will be a military parade and public procession in Moscow. The scene of the festivities, Red Square, will be festively decorated.

Editorial Hails Revolution

PM0611180189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Impetus of October"]

[Text] Today Great October has added another year to its life story, the 72d... That is the time reckoned to be the average length of a person's life. On a historical scale, it is an instant. But this time has other coordinates too. Coordinates of the historical eternity, the imperishability of the ideals for whose sake the Russian proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry and led by Lenin's party, accomplished a breakthrough to the future.

October marked the start of mankind's transition from exploitation and oppression to freedom and the power of the working people, who set themselves the goal of building a new society. Our path is not simple. But we know we are following the correct, Leninist road.

In 1917 the working people followed Lenin's party because, of all the country's numerous political parties, only the Bolsheviks were prepared to fight for the people's hard-won demands: to end the imperialist war, to hand over power to the soviets, the land to the peasants, and the factories and plants to the workers, and to grant every nation the right to self-determination.

Unfortunately, excesses and "understatements" deformed and distorted the Leninist concept of the new society and the socialist idea. However, as was noted in the report devoted to the 72d anniversary of October, we will be profoundly mistaken and will become spiritual beggars if we reduce the history of the country and party to nothing but errors. On whatever pretext the past is distorted, this is always unscientific and immoral.

The party believes that perestroyka in all aspects of society's life is a real revolution. A revolution, a transformation in the established economic and political structures, a revolution in people's hearts and minds, in their mentality, in their understanding of the modern world.

The country is now at a turning point, it is traversing an important stage in an interesting phase of historical development. All aspects of our life are being renewed on a socialist (specifically socialist!) base. We are not renouncing our values, what we believe in, what brought the country to leading positions in social progress. It is a question of the more effective utilization of socialism's opportunities and advantages, its economic, social, and moral potential.

It is clear that merely giving a face-lift to the socialist edifice will not achieve much here. The changes of perestroyka affect ownership relations and are aimed at overcoming man's alienation from the means of production and the products of his labor and making him (this is the main thing!) the real boss in the economy.

The party has taken on the mission of taking to its conclusion the task set by the Bolsheviks—to overcome the alienation of man, of the working people, from power. The idea of true people's power is being put into practice. And the slogan "power to the soviets!" has once again become the slogan of the day. Perestroyka is oriented toward the moral and spiritual renewal of society.

All this is taking place on the wave of awakened initiative and political activeness among the masses. The profundity of the changes is unprecedented, and is naturally eliciting a stormy reaction in the social consciousness. Creative debate within the party is gaining strength. It touches on cardinal questions of society's life. Questions like the party's role in modern conditions, ways of renewing socialism and improving the political system of our union state, and the nature of power at the stage of perestroyka. Society's attention is focused, on the basis of the current transformations, on questions of the nature of socialist ownership and ways of realizing its inherent potential. Our country's role in today's rapidly changing world, which is going through a crucial stage, is under active discussion.

The party, as it approaches its 28th congress, is vitally interested in ensuring that the debate is constructive and helps to renew and consolidate the party itself and all social forces occupying positions of perestroyka. There is an equally pressing need to rid people's minds of confusion and sometimes feelings of panic, which have never been typical of Bolsheviks.

Life is making it increasingly clear that the success of perestroyka can be ensured only in a struggle between the new and the old, with the unfolding of glasnost and criticism and self-criticism, and on the basis of the democratization of all spheres of society's life. Recently the bounds of the possibility of democratically proclaiming one's rights and protesting particular disorders and bureaucratic distortions have expanded considerably. In the context of political life strikes have arisen. Working people have the right to express their will in this way. But are these methods of struggle always justified when there are other ways of solving problems, ways that do not harm people? Are they not sometimes a demonstration of group egotism and strong-arm pressure in the distribution of social wealth?

Some of the strikers, while verbally condemning bureaucratic-pressure methods of leadership, themselves uphold and foster them. PRAVDA has received many letters asking the reasonable question: "Who benefits from the actions of certain striking collectives that are disrupting our economy?"

It goes without saying that socialist democracy, its ideals and principles, and its multiplicity of forms must be vigorously defended and upheld. Upheld with all the weight of theoretical argument and force of personal example. But it also needs protection from authoritarian manifestations, from civic irresponsibility and political adventurism. No one has the right to take a one-sided view of democracy as the right to everything and anything, attaching no importance to the citizen's duty and responsibility.

It would be fine, of course, if all our problems could be solved in an instant, at the wave of a magician's wand. Alas, that does not happen in real life, and the party is doing all it can to remove the burden of the difficulties that are being sharply felt in society today. There have been results, but they are not yet enough. Therefore what we particularly need now, at this crucial stage of perestroyka, is initiative, efficiency, and creativity in work. Major program decisions covering all aspects of perestroyka serve as reliable political guides for us all—Communists and nonparty people. Faith in the party's creative power has always helped us. We need it today, both in the long term and when tackling day-to-day tasks.

Unfortunately, many in the party and in society have not yet managed to shed obsolete approaches and undergo psychological perestroyka. There are those who pay lip service to renewal, but are not doing anything for it. The habits of blaming one another and waiting for instructions from on high are still alive and well. Overcoming these and other stereotypes and instilling creative boldness and flexible thinking in people are essential conditions of the success of perestroyka.

The main thing is to work and build up the creative potential of society. Then our vital problems—food and housing—will be successfully and rapidly resolved. We must show constant concern to improve standards—material and spiritual—elevate people, and cleanse and improve them morally.

We are headed for a qualitatively new state of our society, a new, humane, and democratic socialism. And in so doing we are inspired by Lenin's ideas, embodied in the party's revolutionary perestroyka activity. We are inspired by the lofty and noble impetus of October!

Politburo Debate on Grain Problem Reported

PM0711100189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report under rubric "From CPSU Central Committee Politburo Sitting": "A Word About Daily Bread"; first two paragraphs are front-page editorial introduction to new rubric]

[Text] PRAVDA is beginning the publication of more detailed information from CPSU Central Committee Politburo sittings. It will set out the main substance of the reports and speeches on questions under examination in the Politburo and the essence of the decisions adopted. This is a fundamentally new task for us and we will endeavor to constantly improve the forms in which such material is presented with a view to reflecting more fully the creative spirit of the discussions taking place.

You can read the first article "A Word About Daily Bread" on page two.

The resolution of the grain problem was and still is a question not only of economics but also of big-league politics. So it is only natural that, mindful of the political significance of this problem, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo discussed at a routine sitting 3 November this year questions of agrarian policy linked with progress in fulfilling the Food Program and the further development of grain production in the country. The sitting pointed out that in the process of perestroyka the state of affairs both in the agrarian complex as a whole and with regard to grain is improving, albeit slowly. The average gross annual grain harvest in the current 5-year plan has risen by 26 million tonnes in comparison with the preceding 5-year plan. At the same time, the situation that has taken shape also necessitates the resolution of current and long-term questions in the light of the development and strengthening of new economic relations and forms of economic activity in the countryside.

Analyzing the situation which has taken shape in connection with the expansion of autonomy for collective farms [kolkhozes], state farms, and other agricultural enterprises, V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Commission for Food and Purchases, noted in his report that the situation in the country's agrarian sector is improving. However, the changes here cannot be deemed satisfactory. That is also the opinion of union republic leaders and people's deputies, with whom these questions have been discussed on several occasions in the state commission and in the country's government. The slight increase in grain production is also linked with the fact that farms have received more rights to dispose of the harvest they grow. Therefore, compulsory methods of grain confiscation must continue to be ruled out.

Long experience convinces us that only transitory interests can be satisfied in that way. The ailment was driven inward and emerged with increasing acuteness as the years went by. Therefore, grain needs must be met by improving economic methods. More rational use of grain resources is the main reserve here, above all, in livestock raising through the use of scientifically balanced rations and correct prepration of mixed feeds.

Also, the allocation to the countryside of additional material resources—consumer goods, equipment, and construction materials which are in short supply—in return for the harvest that is handed over will help swell grain reserves from this year's harvest. These and other measures will make it possible to reduce grain imports, which we unfortunately cannot do without at present.

Efficiency in the use of mixed feed and in agricultural production as a whole can be substantially boosted by transferring farms and their subunits to the lease system. All the objective conditions exist for this. The USSR Supreme Soviet has decided to write off the credit debts of collectives that transfer to the lease. Agrarian workers' arsenal also contains many other organizational, economic, and technological means of enhancing feed consumption efficiency. They have all been checked out by the experience of progressive collectives and also in various rayons which found themselves in complex conditions owing to unfavorable weather.

We must abandon, the speaker went on to say, the chronic formula: "However hard it may be, the state will come to the rescue." This forumla has paralyzed the thinking of many leaders and specialists. Moreover, many people do not try to look for effective solutions. All the measures we adopt must have a single task—to prevent losses of livestock and guarantee the production enshrined in the economic plan and approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

V.V. Nikitin devoted a great deal of attention to the problems which must be reflected in the long-term grain program currently being elaborated. In this connection, he pointed out that state commission specialists have set about elaborating guidelines for farm management for subsequent years which ensure, on the one hand, an increase in grain production and, on the other, better use of grain. Special importance is attached to improving economic relations and developing new, more efficient forms of economic activity. It is planned to switch to republic self-sufficiency with regard to basic feed grain requirements, including complexes. [Sentence as published]

It seems advisable to establish a state order for bread grain alone, providing substantial incentives for above-plan deliveries. It is important to stimulate highly profitable production of grain and livestock products, concentrating efforts on solving problems of feed balance. Vast reserves exist here; this is convincingly illustrated by EEC experience. Obtaining 150 million tonnes of grain, the EEC sells 13 million tonnes and produces 29 million and 130 million tonnes of meat and milk respectively from the remaining 137 million tonnes. It feeds its own population of 275 million people and sells foodstuffs. We consume 250 million tonnes, almost twice as much, and produce 20 million tonnes of meat and 108 million tonnes of milk. That is why it is by no means only a matter of natural conditions here. It will probably be useful to enlist foreign firms for joint fattening [ventures], using their experience of efficient feed consumption.

Work to expand intensive cereal grass cultivation techniques and increase sowings of grain corn and oilseed crops must be continued. Specialists see other considerable reserves in the production and efficient use of grain. It is clear that qualitatively new approaches to farm management are being assimilated. They should be developed and implemented by primary production collectives, specialists, and scientists. Any administrative fiat is ruled out here. It must give way to initiative, independence, and cost-recovery in conditions of predominantly economic methods of regulating relations.

In the course of perestroyka, CPSU Central Committee Secretary Ye.S. Stroyev said in his speech, the countryside is acquiring stability and firmness for the first time and the emergent breakthrough in the development of the agro-industrial complex shows this better than any figures. We must maintain and develop the emergent trends. There are two paths here: We can activate all factors by using the potential of social production and of complexes in particular, and also build up output production by integrating it with the population.

But negative trends have also emerged over the last few years: the endeavor to retain more livestock products for internal consumption. Union stocks are decreasing and farms have at the same time begun to direct more grain to meet the needs of their own livestock units. Republics with intensive livestock raising are asking for 10 kg of feed concentrates per 1 kg of meat. Under these conditions, the price mechanism has begun to falter. Selling grain is unprofitable. Its price is five times lower than the prices used for imports. Grain production accounts for only 14.6 percent of total profits. Grain production is unprofitable in one-fourth of farms. Over the last 18 years the country has effectively consumed more grain than it produces. Meanwhile, sown areas are decreasing. We must find a way out of this situation.

It seems advisable, the speaker said, to support the principle of regional economic accountability by extending it also to grain. The grain shortage must hit not only the government but also the people who ask for mixed feed. Pricing and procurement practice needs to be reviewed. Grain must be given priority above all in stable crop farming areas, for instance, the European part of the country, almost to the Volga. It is here that many farms have sharply changed the situation in the last 4 years. They have increased grain prduction by between 40 and 70 percent. But the questions holding back the increase in yields must be resolved. Above all, the question of [plant] protection agents and phosphorus fertilizers. Meanness is counterproductive. Many people find themselves in this position owing to violations of the [agrotechnical] requirements in question. In Estonia, where techniques are fully complied with, 74 quintals of grain are obtained per hectare of barley, yet nearby, where some elements are missing from the technological complex, the harvest is 2-3 times lower. The "grain" program must envisage a system of grain corn and protein production.

The following should also be borne in mind. Volumes of grain have been increasing in our country over the last few years, albeit slowly, but we continue to lose a great deal of this grain during the harvesting. There were no appropriate combines. Then the "Don-1500" appeared. But farms have too few of these combines and we are still losing grain. Drying and storage facilities lagged seriously behind. Machines and units here are not powerful enough and are metal-intensive.

Cadres' responsibility for grain must also be boosted—both their moral and their material responsibility. Life insistently shows that administrative measures failed to ensure a breakthrough in the agrarian sphere, as throughout our economy, while economic and organizational efforts in the spirit of the Central Committee March plenum have still not begun to take effect. Only the situation and the harsh reality of life can cure any ailment, and we cannot escape this fact but must, on the contrary, do everything to solve the pressing, urgent problems of grain production.

V.A. Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the discussion of this question. He said that the republic has probably obtained a record grain harvest this year. Together with corn, where the harvesting is coming to an end, the yield of these crops is 34.7-34.8 quintals per hectare throughout the sown area. The total gross harvest (for all categories of farms) will exceed 53 million tonnes. Despite all this, he noted, there are no grain surpluses in the republic. Moreover, a grain shortage is being felt. How can this be squared with the large harvest?

The point is that, after fulfilling the state order, which totals 17.5 million tonnes—that is approximately 34 percent of the total gross harvest—and supplying all the remaining requirements, livestock units are left with an amount of their own grain feed that meets only 63 percent of their needs. The following question may arise: Where has the grain gone? Here is where: In addition to the aforementioned sources, payment in kind to kolkhoz members has somewhat increased.

In the republic this payment in kind averaged 0.5 kg of grain per ruble earned. This quantity was not issued before. This line is obviously correct. It accords with the policy being implemented to develop rural subsidiary plots and increase meat and milk production on peasants' personal subsidiary plots. This practice, which interests the peasant in increasing the productiveness of his labor, should only be welcomed.

But as a result of this large livestock raising complexes and poultry farms need to be aided with state resources. These enterprises are the most economical from the viewpoint of their use of feed grain. Moreover, the savings are not of some fractions of a percent or a few percent, but severalfold. Here we have a very real and reliable supplier of meat, eggs, and milk.

The following question frequently crops up: Why do we constantly experience shortages? Since 1980 meat purchases in the Ukraine have risen by 1 million tonnes. This increase has not been plucked out of thin air. Feed grain is expended on it. Large livestock raising complexes have made their own very weighty contribution here. In the speaker's opinion, resources must be mobilized to ensure that no holdups arise under any circumstances in supplies of feed grain to these major livestock raising enterprises.

Of course, this does not preclude some cooperation between kolkhozes and state enterprises, but there are probably no farms today that could undertake to fully supply the republics' large complexes with mixed feed.

V.I. Ivashko went on to speak of the major reserves that exist in the Ukraine for increasing grain harvests. One of these is the further development of grain corn production.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo sitting noted that the grain problem is still acute despite certain positive changes in the countryside. We import large grain shipments and expend considerable sums of hard currency on this. The question of grain imports has not been removed from the agenda now. Therefore, we must take into account every possibility of making efficient use of grain to reduce purchases as much as possible. This is a current question, but the "grain" program must be elaborated as a matter of urgency. The price factor must be employed in it in addition to other factors. The experience of raising cotton prices has shown that the increase created great interest and in this respect work to procure raw cotton improved appreciably. In the future, the price factor must also be embodied in the "grain" program, which must be organically linked to the "feed" program, since they are two sides of the same coin.

At the Politburo sitting, the participants approved the political aspects of current and long-term problems related to increasing grain production and ways to make efficient use of grain. The Politburo supported the government's proposal to elaborate a corresponding all-union program for 1991-1995.

CPSU Central Committee Politburo members V.I. Vorotnikov, N.I. Ryzhkov, and Ye.K. Ligachev spoke in the course of the discussion. The results were summed up by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who stressed the exceptional importance of the food problem and the need to solve it most speedily. To this end, it was planned to take a number of urgent steps, generalize the positive experience gained by a number of the country's regions and make it available to the entire people, and draw the mass media's attention to it.

Parallels Drawn Between Gorbachev, Roosevelt

PM0611184589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Reprint of article by U.S. journalist Ted Holmberg from THE KENT COUNTY DAILY TIMES under the "Press Testifies" rubric: "Turning to Roosevelt's Experience"; first two paragraphs are introduction by IZVESTIYA Political Observer V. Matveyev]

[Text] The commentary we are bringing to our readers' attention was published in a small U.S. newspaper, THE KENT COUNTY DAILY TIMES. Its author is Ted Holmberg, a journalist of considerable experience, the owner of a dozen different local newspapers in the United States and one of the U.S. initiators of the now-regular exchanges and meetings which began in 1982 between journalists from the New England states in the United States and our journalists.

In the quest for "keys" to how our country lives and where it is going, U.S. journalists also turn to their own experience and to their own country's history. From this viewpoint, Ted Holmberg's commentary, which we have reprinted below, is of undoubted interest. I must point out on my own account that although by and large Ted Holmberg's ideas are worthy of attention, Gorbachev is Gorbachev and it is wrong to talk about his "equivalence" to Roosevelt.

Is Mikhail Gorbachev the Soviet equivalent of Franklin Delano Roosevelt?

Like Roosevelt, Gorbachev has to deal with a country experiencing serious difficulties. Like Roosevelt, he has critics on the left and on the right. Like Roosevelt, he is endeavoring to refashion a system which is, as it were, running out of "steam" at a time when the people are in many respects feeling disappointed after a period of hope.

It is hard for us now to realize now how bad things had become in the United States in the 1930's, especially during the Depression.

Remember that there was no Social Security then. People were starving, farmers lost their land, labor unions rose up to battle against entrepreneurs, and hordes of World War I veterans marched on Washington (to be dispersed by troops under the command of General MacArthur).

The prophets of despair said that the country could no longer live as it had lived and that we needed a dictator (there were many candidates for such a post). Some even cited the "example" of Mussolini and Hitler—an "example" of how a nation should be united and disagreements ended.

Gorbachev's critic Boris N. Yeltsin has just visited our country and the things he said resembled the criticism of Roosevelt in the thirties.

...Gorbachev is not moving quickly enough... If the situation does not change, Russia will slide into the abyss within the year... Those are roughly Yeltsin's ideas.

All this sounds very familiar to anyone who has studied history. Many people said the same thing here in our country. Like some people in the USSR, many conservatives here in our country thought that any change is for the worse and that Social Security is a diabolical practice designed to undermine the purity of our free enterprise system.

But Roosevelt was a great politician and a most skillful pragmatist.

Steering a middle course between those who called for a frontal offensive and those who wanted to mark time, he did, of course, make mistakes on this path. But he kept on advancing, inspiring people with a feeling of hope.

We have now forgotten that there were days and even months back in the thirties when it seemed that we were not advancing, when the future seemed utterly black. But Roosevelt and his supporters kept their cool, effected changes, and secured the adoption of new programs and approaches. The United States weathered the bad spell and the storms and emerged strengthened from its ordeals. As for critics on the left and right, history has shown that they are never satisfied.

Gorbachev is, of course, up against a more serious situation in some respects. In addition to the problems that Roosevelt had to solve, Gorbachev heads a multinational state.

The situation may deteriorate still further. Meanwhile Gorbachev is steadily continuing his course, despite what he hears from left and right (in the latter case from those who would like to return to the days of Stalin).

Of course, none of these extreme courses will bear fruit; everyone who, like Gorbachev, thinks rationally must realize this.

Unlike Roosevelt, he does not have to deal with a nation in large part on the brink of despair, a nation where many people were starving and even dying from hunger (The commentary's writer is not laying it on thick. John Steinbeck showed in his "Grapes of Wrath" that Americans were up against an extremely disastrous situation indeed in the thirties—V.M.).

We did not cease to exist, we survived. For our sake and the benefit of the whole world and the Soviet people themselves, we hope that, like Roosevelt, Gorbachev will have the strength, the wit, the political skill—and the plain luck—to achieve his goal.

Prokhorov Comments on Perestroyka Results, Tasks

LD0711092989 Moscow TASS in English 0829 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—By TASS news analyst Boris Prokhorov:

Some people believe that we in the Soviet Union have nothing in particular to celebrate today, on the day of the 72nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Well, one may think so, looking at an industrial downswing, inflation, transport malfunctions, coal miners' strikes, and semi-barren shelves of shops. Yes, all this exists. These are the realities of the truly not easy days of our perestroyka.

But there are also some different realities characterising the same period. The first genuinely free elections were held in the Soviet Union.

The first Congress of USSR People's Deputies was held and became a political sensation. The first 'real' Supreme Soviet of the country began to function. Broadcasts from its meetings attract many more people to television screens than even the most popular films based on dectective stories by Agatha Christie or Yulian Semenov.

The elimination of a whole class of nuclear weapons—shorter-range missiles—was recently completed in the Soviet Union. Soviet troops were fully withdrawn from Afghanistan this year. And these are only the most notable changes the list of which can be continued.

What is happening? Why not everything in this country changes for the better? How did it happen that the frightening signs of the crisis and reassuring signs of rebirth are coexisting in the country's life?

Marxism teaches us that the superstructure is more mobile than the basis and that it is the first to react to a change of conditions.

This is what we are now observing in practice. Perestroyka has already set the superstructure—the country's political system—into motion. Now it is the turn of the basis—the economy.

But we shall not be naive to think that changes in the basis can be expedited: Upon setting the beginning of the most complex processes it is essential to be able to wait for their results.

It is possible to mitigate the inevitable negative influences of the transitional period. That is what the Soviet parliament and government are now trying to do. But no decision can make the basis change more rapidly. Changes in the basis are our radical economic reform.

Soberly evaluating both achievements and miscalculations, we are now really rejoicing at the former and are distressed about the latter.

But the main thing is perhaps in the fact that we are now having a fresh look, without blinders, at ourselves and at our country.

Yakovlev Chairs Meeting on Nazi-Soviet Pact

LD0411194189 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—A commission, set up by the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies to give the political and legal assessment to the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, met today to discuss a report on results of its studies and conclusions for the Second Congress of People's Deputies.

The meeting was chaired by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Aleksandr Yakovlev.

Commission members noted the great attention paid by the public to the commission's work. The commission has received numerous letters from Soviet citizens.

The commission will continue its work.

Italian Daily Interviews PRAVDA Editor

AU0611144089 Rome ANSA in English 1244 GMT 6 Nov 89

["PRAVDA to Change Its Face, New Chief Editor Says"—ANSA headline]

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, November 6—The Soviet Communist Party daily PRAVDA, will cease to be the stern purveyor of the party's official line and will be given a "more human, less formal" physiognomy with arts, culture, sports, and science pages, according to the daily's new chief editor, Ivan Timofeevich Frolov.

Interviewed in this morning's edition of the Roman daily, IL MESSAGGERO, Frolov, who was appointed a fortnight ago, said that PRAVDA would no longer figure as the most authoritative line to the Kremlin's thinking.

A philosopher and close aide to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Frolov, who is a member of the party's Central Committee, said that the next major official occasions facing the new PRAVDA and the country are the Soviet Communist Party's 28th Congress and the spring elections.

"I expect the Congress to clarify the significance and goals of perestroyka in the current phase," he told the Roman newspaper. "The idea of socialism needs to be reformulated for present conditions. There will be no new programme for the party like those adopted in the past, which were ineffective, were useless from the day they were formulated. Rather, I think a short-term action programme would be useful."

According to Frolov, Gorbachev is working for "humanistic and democratic socialism." "We don't want to invent anything, we want top understand," PRAVDA'S chief editor added.

"I am thinking in terms of a human socialism, as opposed to the authoritarian-bureaucratic model which Marx described as barracks socialism," Frolov said; "Marxism is real humanism. The theory of the revolution, the class struggle, and the economic theory (in Marxism) are just the means to the goal; man must be the measure and the rule for everything."

Frolov was also asked whether, given the current trend in the Soviet Communist [as received] he expects "close dialogue" with the Socialist International which, after a meeting in Milan last week, decided to accept an invitation from Gorbachev to send a delegation to Moscow early next year.

"I think relations will get more intense," said Frolov. "I see no obstacles to making a greater study of the ideas of democratic socialism proper to the Socialist International."

"In the future, I see a growing integration between those who give a democratic and humanistic interpretation to the ideas of the philosophic writing of the young Marx, whether they call themselves socialists, social democrats, or communists.

"We are abandoning the ideas inherited from Stalinism. We are returning to the starting point of Marx and Lenin. And I think that, in the future, social democrat circles will look on the communists as something different from a sect."

Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Remains Complex

LD0611190800 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] remains complex. Here is what our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko reports.

[Omelchenko] The last 24 hours were somewhat quieter in Nagorno-Karabakh than yesterday or over previous days. However, this calm is relative and fairly uneasy, because a tough confrontation between the Armenian and Azerbaijani population is still in evidence. People feel extremely tense and every careless word or deed may turn into trouble.

I try to provide honest and objective reports on the situation in Karabakh. I have said that it is relatively quiet here but shots can still be heard at nighttime. As before, air transport remains the main means of communication with the outside world. It is true, though, that both sides sometimes do not make proper use of it and send helicopters to NKAO without due monitoring. Measures are being taken now to bring order to air transportation, and the checking of cargo is becoming tougher. Anyway, there is fog in the mountains now and aviation is not operational. A train load of food arrived in Stepanakert today, including 13 waggons with sugar, groats, flour, condensed milk, and butter, so there will be enough bread during the festivities. In general, the food situation is relatively good here; at least there is no need at the moment for any charity or special aid from Yerevan or any other place.

There is enough fuel for road transport for about a week, by minimum norms. Fuel is delivered here from time to time, indeed; although empty tanks arrive occasionally, too. On the eve of the holiday, internal troops conscientiously and bravely fulfill their difficult task of maintaining order in all the populated areas where conflicts or unlawful acts can take place, including Stepanakert and Shusha, where dozens of thousands of people reside, and the small village of (Gazanabad) which numbers just several two-story houses. The day before yesterday frictions arose between Armenians and Azerbaijani once again here over the rumors that Meskhetian Turks were to brought to this village. In this case, the rumor proved false and soldiers and officers of the internal troops reassured people. They realize that the the troops are the only stabilizing force in the region. Yet cardinal solutions are required here to return the situation to normal.

'Extraordinary Situation' Extended

NC0711113489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 7 Nov 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The paper has published a report indicating that the extraordinary situation declared in relation to the republic's railway stations for the speedy unloading of railcars and movement of freight has been extended until 31 December. The serious shortcomings at the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasian railways and in the transportation system and the failure to implement government instructions are behind this decision by the republic's Council of Ministers.

A daily minimum unloading rate of 2,500 railcars has been set, including [word indistinct]. The rate for Leninakan station is set at 700, Kirovakan at 300, and Spitak at 120 railcars.

The report indicates that it is the unloaders' fault that 610 railcars have not been unloaded [passage indistinct].

Armenian National Movement Holds Congress

LD0411215589 Moscow TASS in English 2142 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] Yerevan, Soviet Armenia, November 5 ARMENPRESS-TASS—The constituent congress of an Armenian national movement opened here on Saturday [4 November].

It is attended by 900 delegates from territorial and functional organisations of the movement.

Guests of the forum include representatives of the Communist Party, the local government and public organisations, not included in the movement, foreign Armenian parties, and representatives of popular fronts from some constituent republics and cities of the country.

Prior to the congress, the movement was officially registered by the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

The congress was addressed by Armenian Communist Leader Suren Arutyunyan.

The congress will continue its work on Sunday.

Arutunyan Addresses Meeting

NC0611133389 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Report by Avtandil Grigoryan from the conference of the Armenian National Conference taking place in Yerevan—recorded]

[Excerpts] The constituent conference of the Armenian National Movement has taken place. Present in the conference hall were 900 delegates, representing the organizations and public associations that constitute the movement, and 400 guests. They represented the different strata and parties of the Armenians living in Armenia, the Soviet and foreign diaspora, and popular movements in the Soviet Union. The renowned fanfare which is the signature tune of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] movement announced the commencement of the conference. Then the participants stood in silence in memory of the victims of the severe earthquake last December and of the NKAO movement. Levon Ter-Petrosyan, a member of the Armenian Committee for the NKAO Movement, described in detail those successes which the movement has achieved since its conception and mentioned those problems for the solution of which the people's efforts will be directed. In his speech he said, in particular:

[Begin Ter-Petrosyan recording] During the last 1 ½ years the Armenian National Movement has succeeded in achieving a number of objectives. The most important of these are: the resolution of the Armenian Supreme Soviet of 15 July 1988 on the reunification of the NKAO with Armenia; the closure of the Armenian nuclear power station; the decision to terminate the operations of the NAIRIT scientific production unit; the resolution condemning the 1915 genocide of the Armenians; the resolution calling for the recognition of 28 May 1918 as the day of reinstatement of Armenian statehood and the tricolor of the Armenian republic as the national symbol; the official recognition of the popular organization the Armenian National Movement; the resolution concerning Armenian Army draftees, and other issues. All these inspired the people with confidence in relation to their own power and gave them the inspiration to deepen and consolidate the (?restructuring) program even further. [passage omitted]. Today we have a populist democracy which although facing enormous difficulties is free and where the people's will is dominant; today we have a cohesive, harmonious, and [word indistinct] people which has discarded the illusion of protection by foreigners, which relies on its own powers, and which is full of resolve to shoulder its own destiny. [passage omitted] [end Ter-Petrosyan recording]

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, in indicating the role of the Armenian National Movement in the solution of the NKAO, ecology, social, political, and other problems, referred to the unity and united resolve of the entire Armenian people, to the cooperation between the different social forces, and to the reassessment of the past for the sake of our people's future. We present excerpts of the speech of the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

[Begin Arutyunyan recording] The present trials which have befallen our people unavoidably remind one of those historic crossroads at which a nation's very survival is decided. A historic mission and a grave responsibility has fallen on the present generation, on all of us, to rise up from the (?destruction), to muster the vital powers of our people, and to lead them onto a new path of renaissance. Today, people have gathered in this hall who are concerned with the fate of our people, and with the spiritual and economic advancement of Armenia and its future. They are concerned with the further deepening of the democratization of public life and with the future of the country's restructuring.

The Armenian National Movement has called its first general conference in these very complex times. It has given a purpose to the social activity of our people. At grave and critical times our people have always relied on their own collective power. Here lies the secret of our survival; the secret of the salvation of Armenia from destruction at the heroic battles of Avarayr and Sardarabad.

The party initiated and carried through the restructuring. Its program received a worthy response from the widest strata of the people. It appears that Armenia, and our people, which have sustained the heaviest blows of Stalinism and stagnation, will be in the forefront of the restructuring. All the prerequisites for this existed in our republic. Unfortunately, even after April 1980, the slumber of stagnation continued in Armenia. A contradictory situation had emerged: The aspirations of the masses, their restructuring spirit, and their active rejection of stagnation and negative phenomena clashed with the conservatism of the republic's leadership, which not only failed to guide the masses but could not even take concrete initiatives. The people's political awareness was virtually spurred from below by the popular movements. Considering the real situation in the republic and the requirements for social development, and taking into account the healthy propensities for increasing the people's activity, the September 1988 plenum of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee proposed a comprehensively analysed principled program of activity. The main purpose of the plenum is to ensure the political, economic, and spiritual advancement of the republic. Today, this is also seen as the primary task by the Armenian National Movement. In the complex situation prevailing in the republic we offered our cooperation with all those for whom revival through national unity and the problem of extricating our people from socioeconomic and moral-psychological crisis comes before anything else.

It is an indisputable fact that the primary factor in a nation's survival and renaissance is its people's spiritual and material strength, and the fundamental way to achieve it is national unity. Today, important steps are being taken to carry out this important mission. Restructuring, besides revealing general problems facing the country, has also brought forth problems specific to each republic. Sincere conviction where restructuring is concerned, grim historical memory, and the feeling of social and national insecurity which took root during the development of events constituted the basic factors which in our case brought forth the problem which is the most painful of all and most urgently demands a solution: the national problem.

This problem has taken its most visible form in connection with the NKAO problem. The question raised by the Artsakh [NKAO] people is simple and understandable. It is a natural human aspiration which demands a civilized approach and a constitutional solution. Our principled stance towards the Artsakh problem is definitive. We have declared it most clearly during the first congress of people's deputies, at the CPSU Central Committee plenum of September this year dedicated to the national issues, and at the session of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Our people have never been so united and cohesive. Today, as never before, Soviet Armenia bears the title of motherland of all Armenians with full justification. The more complex the situation, the more we must rely on our power, hope, and optimism. Let us posit the strong force of hope against pessimism. If we want to exist and survive then in addition to the Artsakh problem we must not forget hundreds of [word indistinct] problems which perturb the entire Armenian people. These include: the surmounting of the consequences of the earthquake, the deplorable situation of our hundreds of thousands of homeless compatriots and of those who were forcefully uprooted, the urgent need to extricate the republic from economic and social crisis, the solution of pressing environmental problems, and the radical improvement of social relations.

New programs designed to keep Armenians aware of their identity and new attitudes towards our people's history and language are also being developed. Despite all these, the efforts so far have probably proved far from satisfactory. Today, people justly expect more consistent and resolute efforts in this connection. The upcoming elections must constitute a new step in the progress to deepen the democratic processes. People who are dedicated to restructuring and true to the interests of the people must be put forward and elected to the supreme soviet and local soviets. At present one of the most important tasks facing us is the implementation of a formulated and well-assessed national program, taken in its widest sense. Today, we must act on the principle of supremacy of universal human values, taking into account the social and political changes and main thrust of developments taking place in the country and abroad. It is necessary to strengthen the republic's autonomy and economic independence and through national concord to give the fullest embodiment to the intellectual and spiritual abilities of the Armenian people.

By gathering of the nation, I also refer to the dispersed condition of our people. In this regard history has bestowed a grave legacy on us. As a result of the 1915 genocide, wars, and destruction a substantial proportion of the Armenian people does not live in its own country. A Soviet and foreign diaspora formed. Under these conditions, we must persevere in our efforts further to activate the work to instill Armenian awareness amongst the diaspora Armenians and further bolster the ties between the diaspora and the fathreland. We must also not forget the repatriation issue. We must do everything to ensure that people do not abandon their own country; this is causing enormous moral damage. It is our consistent policy to approach the diaspora problem by shaking off unnecessary political prejudices, by taking ideological differences into account, by casting aside intransigence and discrimination, and by according due importance to the series of ferments that have taken place in the national, social, and political life of the diaspora over the recent years. History has divided us and often set us against each other. But now it is time for unity. There is one fatherland and it belongs to all. We have many common points for mutual activity. In the final analysis we must construct our relations with the intent of serving the general interests of the Armenian people. [end Arutyunyan recording] [passage omitted]

[Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 1700 GMT on 4 November, heard with very poor reception, carries the full version of Arutyunyan's speech, in which he also says: " We highly appreciate the role played by the Communists, Hnchakyan Social Democrats, and Ramkavar Liberal parties in the Armenian communities for decades, and the role of the Armenian General Benevolent Union in the economic and cultural advancement of the diaspora Armenian communities. The restructuring and openness also gave us the opportunity to shape a new approach toward the present activities of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutyan)."]

Program Published

LD0411231189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The founding congress of the Armenian National Movement opened today in Yerevan.

[Reporter V. Nazaryan] The opening of the congress was preceded by the republic's Supreme Soviet officially registering the Armenian National Movement as a new sociopolitical organization. According to the draft program which was pubished today along with the draft statutes in the first issue of HAYK, the movement's official press organ, the movement's aim is to serve the national interests of the Armenian people and promote the nation's political, economic, and spiritual power. I'd like to quote an excerpt from this document—which has not been approved yet—because it seems quite important to me: Our movement is not directed against any people. Our principle is to live in peace and cooperation with all neighboring peoples. Among the most important tasks of the Armenian National Movement are genuine sovereignty of the people, an independent economic policy for the republic, diversity in forms of ownership, the problems of language and ecology, reconstruction of the earthquake zone, and, of course, a political solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

Nine hundred delegates at the congress, representing territorial and functional organizations of the Armenian National Movement, are to approve the program and statutes and elect the leading organs of the Armenian National Movement. Among the guests are representatives of party and soviet organs and of public organizations, delegations from the peoples' fronts of many union republics and from the Armenian diaspora abroad. Taking part in the congress' work are also representatives of three Armenian political parties operating abroad—Ramkavarutyun, Hnchak, and Dashnaktsutyun.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, made a long speech today at the congress. The founding congress of the Armenian National Movement will continue tomorrow.

Agenda Approved

NC0511100289 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 5 Nov 89

[Text] The country's process of democratization and glasnost has greatly assisted in raising the level of political and civic activity on the part of the vast masses. It has given birth to new popular organizations and parties whose activities now assist the process of perestroyka. One such organization is the Armenian National Movement whose goal is to serve the Armenian people's national insterests. Originating from the Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO] Armenians' just right for self-determination and from the objective to unite the NKAO and the Armenian SSR[Soviet Socialist Republic], as pointed out in the movement's draft program, the Armenian National Movement naturally embraced all the principle issues related to the destiny of the Armenian people and became a truly Pan-Armenian movement which includes many experts and many views.

On the eve of the conference, 100,000 copies of the newspaper HAYK, official organ of the Armenian National Movement, were published.

The conference opened on 4 November in Yerevan's Stepan Shaumyan Hall. Representatives from various organizations of the Armenian National Movement, guests from Moscow and Leningrad, and representatives of popular fronts of Soviet republics attended. In addition, representatives of cultural and philanthropic organizations of (?Armenian-inhabited) areas in the Soviet Union, of Armenian communities in the diaspora, of the capital's residents, and of the Soviet and international press were present.

A presidium, secretariat, commissions to determine the responsibilities of the representatives and keep accounts, and editorial commissions were elected at the meeting.

The following agenda was approved for the conference:

1. Study and approval of the Armenian National Movement's draft program and regulations;

2. Election of the Armenian National Movement's leading bodies.

A speech was delivered on the movement's goals by Levon Ter-Petrosyan, doctor of philology and member of the Karabakh Movement's Armenia Committee.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, was present at the meeting.

Sarkisyan, representative of the incorporation of the NKAO; Gevorkyan, member of the Karabakh Movement's Armenia Committee and editor of HAYK newspaper; Ogannisyan, employee of the State Committee on Radio and Television; Ishkhanyan, doctor of philology and member of the Mashtots Union; Sarkisyan, representative to the Armenian National Movement from Kirovakan; [name indistinct], head of the Artikskiy Philanthropic-Charity Friendship Organization; Bishop Nersisyan; and Ogannisyan, doctor of architecture, exchanged views.

The conference's participants were greeted by (Ins Savitius), member of the Latvian Popular Front Administration; (Tomas Barter), representative of the Hungarian Democratic Youth Union; (Yegham Levonyan), head of the Territory and Culture Organization in France; and (Maria Sayvel), representative of the Leningrad Popular Front.

The conference heard and approved the report by the commission defining the responsibilities of the representatives.

Following the conference, work was continued by 12 commissions meeting in the various halls of Yerevan's organizations. The Artsakh problem, reconstruction in the disaster area, defense of human rights, consolidation of ties with the internal and external diaspora, development of the language and of national schools, implementation of economic and territorial reforms, refugee housing, preservation of the environment, constitutional and voting rights, national liberation and popular movements, and issues of faith and of philanthropy were addressed during the commissions' sessions.

The conference continues.

Nationalist Leader Interviewed

AU0611165489 Paris AFP in English 1622 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Sylvie Lanteaume report]

[Text] Yerevan, Soviet Union, Nov 6 (AFP)—An Armenian nationalist leader called for the resignation of the regional prime minister Monday and warned that the nationalist movement was seeking independence from the Soviet Union.

"Armenia no longer wants to be Moscow's colony," Levon Ter Petrosyan, one of the nationalist movement's foremost leaders, said in an interview with AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

The statement came after 40 Armenian groups formed one nationalist movement this weekend in a bid to join forces and discuss Armenia's eventual independence.

Speaking at the nationalist movement's conference here, Mr. Petrosyan said Armenia's Prime Minister Vladimir Makaryants, the regional party's number two and "all other party officials named by Moscow" must resign.

Mr. Petrosyan, a former militant of the nationalist Karabakh Committee, was jailed for nearly a year in Moscow for organizing mass rallies in the past winter.

Mr. Makaryants was to address the movement later in the day to answer for his government's past record. Delegates were to vote on Mr. Petrosyan's demand after the prime minister's speech.

In the interview Mr. Petrosyan slammed Moscow for failing to resolve the crisis situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous enclave inside Moslem Azerbaijan populated by Christian Armenians.

The region has been put under direct rule by Moscow in a bid to quell inter-ethnic rioting between Armenians and Azeris.

But this has not stopped Azerbaijan from cutting off all communication links to Armenia earlier this year as a reaction to Nagorno-Karabakh demands for reunification with Armenia.

The blockade has since been lifted.

"Moscow's refusal to solve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and systematic acts of violence against the Armenian people have broken down Armenia's confidence in the Soviet Union," the nationalist leader said.

He also accused the Kremlin leaders of failing to secure the physical security of the Armenian people.

Independence will come when "time is ripe," Mr. Petrosyan said, adding that the idea had grown over the last year and a half as Armenian nationalists were becoming aware of their own force.

Saying Armenia's relationship with Moscow was that of a "victim and his hangman," Mr. Petrosyan said independence would mean absolute sovereignty within the framework of the Soviet federation.

Suren Arutunyan, first secretary of the republic, reportedly also holds that Armenia must remain within the Soviet Union.

"He is backing all our demands," Mr. Petrosyan said.

Two Armenian separatist groups calling for immediate secession from the Soviet Union have so far refused to join the 40-member movement saying its stand on the issue was not staunch enough.

The nationalist draft platform calls for the reunification of Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia and a new relationship between the Soviet Union and Armenia as well as for the recognition by Moscow of Armenia's right to secede.

The draft also calls for the restructuring of military forces in Armenia, the right to establish diplomatic relations with other countries and to join international organizations.

Armenia already has close ties to neighbouring Iran to the south and Soviet Georgia to the west, according to Mr. Petrosyan.

The new nationalist movement favors political pluralism, freedom of the press, and wants to "present candidates in local and federal elections at all levels."

The congress has drawn 1,500 people, including delegates representing nationalist groups, guests from other Soviet republics, and representatives of the Armenian diaspora.

Further on Conference

NC0711140489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] The constituent conference of the Armenian National Movement continued its deliberations yesterday at the Stepan Shaumyan Hall. Ashot Manucharyan, who was presiding over the meeting, announced the agenda for the day: the examination of the movement's program, elections, and the endorsement of a number of resolutions. He also read out a request by the Yerevan subway work collective that the October Revolution station be renamed after General Andranik and a statement from the Yerevan city soviet executive committee calling for the ratification of this demand.

An examination of the program of the Armenian National Movement followed. Those expressing their views on this matter were History Professor Bavel Simonyan; poet Razmik Tavoyan; Khachik Stamboltsyan, a member of the Karabakh Committee; Volodya Arutyunyan, representative of the Armenian National Movement's organization in Leninakan; Stevla Sevan, a Bulgarian-Armenian writer; Shant Petrosyan, a member of the youth branch of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation; Terenik Khachaturyan, representative of the Armenian National Movement's organization in Vartenis; Leonid Gosman, representative of the MOSCOW TRIBUNAL; poet Gevorg Emin; and Ashot Bleyan, director of the intermediary school No 183.

What measures has the republic's government taken to resolve the prevailing situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]? The delegates to the conference demanded that Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, deliver a report on this issue. Comrade Markaryants gave a fairly extensive report and replied to many of the questions troubling those present.

During the evening session of the conference, a draft resolution on the NKAO was submitted for the consideration of the delegates. Participating in the exchange of views on this matter were: Levon Ter-Petrosyan, a member of the Armenian Committee for the Karabakh Movement; Akob Akobyan , a lecturer at Yerevan State university; Felik Zakaryan, chairman of the Armenian National (?provisional assembly) and others.

The delegates decided to instruct the commission studying the Artsakh [NKAO] problem to draw up a final document which should form the basis for the future activity of the Armenian National Movement.

The conference also debated and endorsed the draft resolutions prepared by the human rights committee.

Samuel Gevorgyan, a member of the Armenian Committee for the Karabakh Movement, submitted the Armenian National Movement's program to the conference. This program was revised to take into account the proposals and suggestions of the delegates. After including further additions and proposals the conference, by majority vote, endorsed the program of the Armenian National Movement.

Armenia's Arutyunyan Meets Leningrad's Khodyrev

NC0411174689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Excerpts] On 2 November Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, received Khodyrev, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and chairman of the Leningrad city soviet executive committee.

During the conversation Comrade Arutunyan talked about the complex problems the Armenian Communists, workers, and the entire people are dealing with. [passage omitted].

Khodyrev spoke about his visit to the earthquake zone and about his meetings with the Leningrad builders and engineers and with other teams from Neva. [passage omitted]. Uneasy about the pace of the restoration work, Khodyrev indicated that his visit provided an opportunity to uncover errors and shortcomings in the restoration work and exposed the reasons for these shortcomings. Now, concrete measures are foreseen to overcome the shortcomings, accelerate restoration work in damaged regions, and ensure the fulfillment of the tasks placed before the Leningrad teams. Serobyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, was present at the meeting.

On the same day Khodyrev met with Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers.

Baku-Moscow Train Searched for Explosives

NC0611081789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1745 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] AZERINFORM has reported the following:

An anonymous person called Baku railway station's information office on 3 November and claimed that explosives had been placed on the [word indistinct] train traveling from Baku to Moscow.

The organs of the republic's committee for state security and main [word indistinct] took the required measures. It was established after the train had been searched by the defense experts that no explosives had been placed on the train.

Such [word indistinct], which cause unfounded rumors, clearly indicate that irresponsible elements will not relinquish their [word indistinct] ambitions. These activities are aimed at disrupting stability and creating tension in the republic.

Militia Arrest 10 Murder Suspects in Azerbaijan

LD0311143689 Moscow TASS in English 1354 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] Baku, November 3 TASS—A militia swoop in Soviet Azerbaijan led to the capture of ten heavily-armed people wanted for the murder of the chief of a local plant.

An investigation carried out by the procurator's office has revealed the accused's complicity in a series of particularly grave crimes, including murder and robbery both within and beyond the republic.

The men were paid 50,000 roubles for the contract killing of the general director of the Bakpivo enterprise, F.Sh. Shiraliev, on September 6.

An investigation supervised by the Soviet Procurator's Office is continuing.

Use of Azeri as Official Language Viewed

NC0611082789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] The decision adopted by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee in connection with translation work and the measures required to improve this work was published 6 years ago. The decision established a series of wide-ranging measures. The problems [words indistinct]. The serious problems created by the declaration of Azeri as the official language, as called for by the law on the sovereignty of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], have assumed priority importance.

What work is being carried out in this respect? Makhmudov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade; Gadzhiyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Union of Journalists; and Mamedov, chairman of Azerbaijan SSR Literary Translation and Relations (?Committee), replied to the questions put to them by AZERINFORM.

The newspapers published the replies given to AZERINFORM today.

IZVESTIYA on Situation in Mining Areas

PM0611163389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondents Viktor Filippov, Nikolay Lisovenko, Petr Voroshilov, and Oleg Stefashin reports under the rubric "Direct Line" and the general heading "In the Mining Regions"]

[Text] Vorkuta—This is what I was told at the city workers (strike) committee in the morning on 6 November: One mine, "Zapolyarnaya," is working at full strength. The "Ayach-Aga" and "Vorkutinskaya" Mines are extracting only enough coal to meet the city's needs. The "Severnaya" Mine is bringing coal to the surface but is not shipping it to consumers. The other nine "Vorkutaugol" Association mines are at a standstill.

Minister of the Coal Industry M. Shchadov arrived in Vorkuta. At the Political Enlightenment House at midday today there is to be a meeting with the public at which many disputed problems ought to be discussed. Miners intend to express their attitude toward N.I. Ryzhkov's telegram at the meeting. I shall file additional reports on the course of the meeting and its outcome.

Donetsk—"The prime need is to work!"—this was the opinion expressed at meetings by miners from the first shift at the Batov, No. 13 "BIS," "Chaykino," and other mines when discussing N.I. Ryzhkov's message to miners. They welcomed with gratification the words by the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers that his meeting with representatives of Ministry of the Coal Industry labor collectives will take place 17 November.

Here is a noteworthy fact: Makeyevka's miners worked hard last Sunday and produced 8,800 tonnes of coal in excess of their set plan. And even though their arrears since the beginning of the year are still great, the workers' mood is already changing for the better.

A session of the Donbass regional council of strike committees was held in Donetsk. It discussed the question of the prevailing situation. It is clear to everyone today that the national economy's base sector—the coal industry—not only should not stop work but should work well with winter just around the corner.

Kemerovo—It cannot be said that the situation in the Kuzbass is completely back to normal. The message from N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was received with understanding here. But miners cannot accept the irresponsibility of some ministries and departments whose duty it is to implement the protocol agreed with the government commission. Who can be satisfied by replies like this: "The demand has been accepted for examination, instructions have been issued to implement it." Who has been instructed, who will implement the instructions and when? The absences of such precise information is what fans passions.

Kemerovo Oblast was left without gasoline just before the October holidays. Motor transport is at a standstill. Products cannot be delivered to stores... But nobody can overlook the fact that, following the July events, many enterprises seem altogether unable to resume their normal production pace: It is easy to stop a mine working, but the subsequent resumption of work demands major efforts. The slackening of labor discipline is having a pernicious effect.

The Kuzbass has 1.5 million tonnes of above-plan coal to its credit. But it all comes from stocks built up during the first 6 months. They are being reduced. After all, extraction is still not rising, it is actually falling. Delivery shortfalls of the fuel the country so badly needs amounted to more than 400,000 tonnes in October alone.

Karaganda—Here is what M. Ramazanov, deputy chairman of the oblast workers committee, specifically said in a conversation with me: "The Vorkuta miners did not pick the best method of struggle for the satisfaction of their demands. I make no secret of it, we largely share their concern over progress in the fulfillment of the well known USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 608. Suffice it to say that almost two-thirds of the 48 items on the official record of measures agreed between our strike committee and union and republic organs have still not been implemented. But we realize: Even if we abandon work now, this will not accelerate the adoption of expected decisions. The government is ready to discuss with us any problems that have developed—so, we'll be sensible: we'll accept this proposal and save the country from the alarming situation in which it has found itself just before the cold winter weather."

Kuzbass Hit by Gasoline Shortage

PM0311163989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

["Sharp Warning" report by TASS correspondent G. Shalakin: "Waiting For Gasoline"]

[Text] Kemerovo—Are the working people of the industrial Kuzbass going to be in festive mood? None of the oblast leaders dare answer the question in the affirmative.

"There is no possibility at the moment of delivering even a meager range of vegetables and food and industrial goods to the stores," V. Churpita, deputy chairman of the Kemerovo Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, said in conversation with your TASS reporter. "Transportation of the oblast's 1.5 million people from their homes to their enterprises has also begun to be disrupted. Frost has struck, snow is falling, but the equipment is not out clearing the roads. It is the same cause in every case: In 19 cities and 40 workers' settlements in the Kuzbass there is no gasoline for motor transport.

"Since the miners' strikes in July some central departments and ministries have seemingly acquired a very mistaken idea of the oblast's needs. For some reason, they think that the Kuzbass wants to grab something extra for itself. But we only want the resources that are essential in order to maintain our mighty industrial potential, since a hitch in any component causes a chain reaction. Only the other day, again through the fault of organizations of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products, we had serious problems at the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine, where, because of a lack of low-sulfur fuel oil, the open-hearth furnaces had to be turned down low.

"Our current appeals to the RSFSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products meet with the following answer: It is there at the filling stations, but-...there are no tank cars. It was the same before, as a result of which the Kuzbass has missed out on 13,000 tons of gasoline since the beginning of the year."

It has just been announced that a trainload of gasoline has been dispatched to the Kuzbass. That would be fine, were it not for the fact that it will be 5 days, that is, 7 November, before it arrives from Irkutsk.

Pechora Coal Basin Strike Updated

LD0611185789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1743 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Vorkuta, Komi Autonomous Republic, 6 Nov (TASS)—There was no improvement in the situation in this Arctic city again today. Only 4 of the 13 Vorkuta pits are extracting coal, shipment of which to consumers is proceeding extremely badly. Altogether since the begining of November the Vorkutaugol association's shortfall in the dispatch of coal exceeds 186,000 tonnes.

Meetings between Mikhail Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry, and miners from a number of Vorkuta pits and the strike committees of the town and the coal extraction enterprises took place last night. A meeting of the party and economic aktiv of Vorkuta and of representatives of the town's labor collectives took place today. The meeting discussed the situation in the Pechora coal basin. The miners failed to reach a decision to end their strike.

At the town workers' (strike) committee the TASS correspondent was told: "We share the concern expressed by Nikolay Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, about the present state of affairs in the coal industry. However, the miners no longer believe that their demands will be met, they need precise guarantees. Minister Mikhail Shchadov has arrived in Vorkuta without the necessary powers from the country's government. We are continuing to insist that a government commission come urgently to Vorkuta and we are prepared to end the strike when it starts work."

All the mines of the 'Intaugo' association are working normally. However, the leadership of the town workers' (strike) committee reported to a TASS correspondent that the Inta miners "are still trying to refrain from the extreme measure—a strike.

However, the Inta miners are also dissatisfied with the way the USSR Council of Minister's decision number 608 on the miners' demands is being carried out."

Ryabev Surveys Strike Situation

PM0611165589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[S. Lvov article under the general heading "On the Situation in the Pechora Coal Field": "In Favor of Dialogue Without Ultimatums"]

[Text] On 4 November there was a meeting with journalists from the central press at the USSR Council of Ministers, at which the situation which has taken shape in connection with the miners' strike was discussed.

L.D. Ryabev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, pointed out the discrepancy between the actions of the strike committees of the "Vorkutaugol" Association and the requirements of the recently adopted Law on Resolving Collective Labor Disputes. In particular, the strikes began as of 26 October and the miners' demands were formulated only on 1 November. They reached the country's government on 2 November. What is more, the very existence of the miners' committees is not provided for in the law.

After the adoption of the well-known Resolution No 608 dated 3 August a whole range of meetings took place in the government with representatives of labor collectives and trade union figures, where progress in implementing the resolution was discussed. In L.D. Ryabev's words, "it is being fulfilled like no other." For example, virtually all the miners' demands concerning pension security have been taken into account in the draft Law on Pensions, which has been put forward for nationwide discussion. On 10 November the Government intends to hand over the Law on Leave for scrutiny by the USSR Supreme Soviet—miners' needs were also included in it (for example, leave is being increased from 39 to 57 days for those working in particularly complex conditions underground). It is already a reality that wages in mines have increased—through increased pay for night shifts, and switches from one shaft to another and so on. L.D. Ryabev noted that, in comparison with the first 6 months of this year, the average wage in the "Vorgashorskaya" mine increased by R120 per month, and for those working at the face it reached R1,220.

Labor collectives have been given the right to economic independence. Today 95 mines are working in the new conditions. It is planned to bring in a substantial—150 percent—increase in wholesale prices for coal output, but until wholesale prices are reformed overall, so-called transaction prices, which are being increased, will remain in force. The Ministry of the Coal Industry apparatus is being cut by 30 percent. Programs for the comprehensive social development of coal regions is being developed at the local level. But why has work at some mines stopped again? What is the reason for the disagreements?

In L.D. Ryabev's opinion, a certain impatience and the desire to see immediate realization of those demands whose fulfillment is planned for the end of the year, or for next year, had an effect. The fact that sometimes information about the government and the Ministry of the Coal Industry's decisions and actions does not reach places right away, or is inaccurately interpreted should also be taken into account. Some of the points from the August resolution had not even been considered for speedy implementation, and a study of the issues involved was proposed. But today they are being presented in the form of an ultimatum. Finally, L.D. Ryabev continued, some of the economic demands are unrealistic; for example, exempting miners... from paying alimony, or keeping the full "northern" bonuses for switching from one workplace to another although the "northern" bonuses themselves were introduced precisely in order to attract people to work for many years in one place.

L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, also spoke at the meeting with journalists. "If the strikes do not stop," he said, "a real threat will emerge that there will be nothing with which to heat houses this coming winter."

In conclusion, it was stressed that all labor disputes must be solved exclusively in accordance with the law and must not harm society.

Komi Deputy Comments

LD0511171989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 5 November in its "Topical Interview" program broadcasts a 6-minute interview with Sergey Gennadiyevich Lushchikov, people's deputy, and member of the Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, and deputy justice minister in Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, by Marina Novitskaya on the subject of strikes. He claims that the demands of the Komi strikers 2 weeks ago, when he was there, were of a political nature, "half of which do not stand up to serious criticism" and certain of which are "simply absurd". He continues: "I will be bold enough to put it this way: Many strikers like striking, liked it." Lushchikov emphasizes that issues must be solved within the law, but they cannot all be solved at once.

Next, Lushchikov complains that "in general, it is bad, that in our state such a principle as collective irresponsibility dominates. When we find an actual culprit or an actual malefactor, we will always find a way to hold him accountable, but when it is a question of collective—and in the given instance the strike committee is a collective and the colliery is also a collective—then sometimes we are at a loss."

Lushchikov claims that the strikers are not so badly off in comparison with forestry workers, builders, and others. "Evidently, it is necessary to restrain this egoism inside oneself." He suggests that the strike leaders put themselves forward as candidates for people's deputies.

Vilnius Comments on Moscow's 'Economic Boycott'

LD0711101989 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Vilnius radio correspondent Roma Pakeniene report: "Does economic boycott of Lithuania exist?"]

[Excerpts] At present there are about 120 industrial enterprises directly subbordinated to Moscow in Lithuania. When Lithuania and other Baltic republics become economically independent, begining next year, these enterprises should become the property of the republic.

Unfortunately, Moscow agreed to transfer only 21 enterprises to the subbordination of the Lithuanian Government. Concerning the rest—almost 100 enterprises—heated discussions are being held in Moscow. [passage omitted]

Already voices have been heard about the first symptoms of economic boycott. Observing how the confirmation of the regulations for economic independence of the Baltic republics is dragged out in Moscow, it can be seen that some central ministries of the USSR and industrial enteprises have no confidence in their partners in Lithuania. For instance, only the supply of raw material is uninterrupted at the Mazeikiai oil refinery: Oil is coming by the trunk oil pipeline from Tyumen oblast in Siberia. According to information given by [name indistinct], head of supply department at the refinery, other components needed for oil refining are constantly in short supply. [passage indistinct] We attempt to establish contacts with other enterprises of the USSR. However, they quite often declare: In the Baltic republics things taking place are not clear; you want to secede, therefore we want nothing [words indistinct]. Can such industrial relations be labeled as economic boycott? Kestutis Glaveckas, doctor of economics, who is also new head of the Economic Department at the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, who favors reforms, thinks that the tendency to boycott some Lithuanian enterprises is strongly felt.

[Begin Glaveckas recording] Great pressure is felt by many enterprises here from some all-union enterprises, especially from departments and ministries. These do the trimming, declaring that when you become independent, these and some other materials will no longer be supplied. You will have to find out where to get these materials yourselves. This is a general background of the matter on the enterprise level. However, there are some other features which also cause our concern. These features are connected with how the very concept of economic reform and the preparation of laws in Moscow during the session [as heard] are formulated. [end recording]

Delaying the adoption of decisions so vital to economic reform in the Baltic republics at the USSR Supreme Soviet according to Kestutis Glaveckas, is nothing else but a form of economic boycott. Moscow is not willing to give up the direct meddling into the distribution of revenue in Lithuania, the setting of prices for goods manufactured in this republic. Kestutis Glaveckas again:

[Begin Glaveckas recording] This "We will not give you," originates in general from the totalitartian bureaucracy which exists in this country, from the existing bureaucratic system. There are gigantic All-Union ministries, about 70 of them, which rule and manage everything. These ministries like to give instructions; they benefit by it, because the person responsible for distributing the capital assets benefits by it. After all, he receives bribes for this, and so on. Therefore they do not want to be left without this prerogative. What does economic independence mean? It means independence. It means dependence on our own economic laws, and Moscow does not agree with this. [passage omitted]

On the one hand we are maximalists, and on the other we are also realists. Parallel to laws prepared by Moscow we are getting ready with a package of republican laws. [passage omitted] These laws will be passed by this republic's Supreme Soviet and these laws will help us to form an internal economic mechanism which will give maximal protection to the republic from the administration by a mere decree from Moscow. [passage omitted] We want to be recognized as equal partners. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Party on Anti-Inflation Measures

LD0611104589 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] The closing decade of this century has been proclaimed in Lithuania a decade of national school. Six hundred school establishments of different kinds will be built in that period, which marks the 6th centenary of Lithuanian education. This has been disclosed following yesterday's sitting of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. It also discussed emergency anti-inflation measures, but endorsed no decision since it was the first time that the subject of this kind was dealt with.

The Bureau also heard information from Vytautas Arbaciauskas, first secretary of the party's Kaunas Committee, on blending Kaunas City and Region committees into one.

In another move three party committees in Snieckus settlement and Ignalina region merged into one. Well, party machinery is being reduced, which in itself is a good sign.

And one more important decision: The Bureau gave a go-ahead to launch the periodical TREMTINYS, DEPORTEE. It will come out twice a month, with a circulation of 50,000 copies.

Lithuanian Party Plenum Resolution

90UN0221A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 18 Oct 89 p 1

[Resolution of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee 21st Plenum: "The Debate on the Restructuring of the Communist Party of Lithuania and its Activity and the Convening of the 20th Communist Party of Lithuania Congress"]

[Text] 1. To note that the debate under way in the republic's party organizations on the restructuring of the Lithuanian Communist Party and its activity has evoked the high assertiveness of the Communists and nonparty people. The principal question of the republic's social and political life currently is the past, present, and future of the Lithuanian Communist Party. The status of the

Lithuanian Communist Party is being discussed actively and in a businesslike manner. Various views have been expressed, however, the opinion of a majority of participants in the debate to the effect that the Lithuanian Communist Party needs restructuring has been ascertained. Operating in a sovereign republic, it must determine its internal affairs independently, have its own program and statutes and shape in conjunction with the Communist parties of the other union republics the political course of the CPSU and its executive bodies.

The majority of Communists approved the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee 18th Plenum resolution on the need for the convening in the present year of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress and the adoption thereat of the program documents of a party in reconstruction. Over 7,000 specific proposals were submitted in the course of the debate. They were used in the preparation of the draft programs and statutes of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Some of the observations and proposals were passed on to the CPSU Central Committee in order that the opinion of Lithuania's Communists might be taken into consideration at the time of preparation of drafts of the new party program and rules for the 28th CPSU Congress, which could enshrine the new status of the union republic Communist Party in the changing federation of the Union and democratizing intra-party life.

At the same time the plenum recognizes that there were many shortcomings in the organization of the debate. Some party organizations did not participate, and the debate was superficial in places. Attempts to evaluate in a distorted manner the path trodden by the Lithuanian Communist Party were made. Extreme opinions not in keeping with present realities, weakening party discipline and bringing about the danger of a split in the party have been expressed. Unfortunately, the party aktiv has not always cogently refuted such unwarranted evaluations. This shows that some party officials were unprepared for the debate and lacked knowhow, political flair, and a clear-cut concept.

2. Having discussed the draft program and statutes of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the plenum believes it would be expedient to unite the efforts of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Commission for Preparation of the Program Documents of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the republic Coordinating Council for Solving Problems of the Status of the Lithuanian Communist Party in order for a single version of the Lithuanian Communist Party draft program and statutes to be submitted to the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress. The plenum expresses the hope that an absolute majority of Communists will support a realistic, scientifically substantiated platform which will not split the ideological unity of both the CPSU and the Lithuanian Communist Party.

3. To convene the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress on 19 December 1989 in Vilnius.

4. To confirm the following congress agenda:

4.1. Account of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee on the progress of perestroyka and the priority action program of the Lithuanian Communist Party geared to the surmounting of the negative tendencies in the economy, stabilization of the political situation, and an enhancement of the role of the Lithuanian Communist Party in the social life of the republic. Speaker—A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

4.2. Account of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Auditing Commission. Speaker—Z. Zhilyavichyus, chairman of the Lithuanian Communist Party Auditing Commission.

4.3. Lithuanian Communist Party Program. Speaker—V. Baltrunas, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

4.4. Lithuanian Communist Party Statutes. Speaker—V. Berezov, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

4.5. Elections of Lithuanian Communist Party executive bodies.

5. To determine the representation of the municipal and rayon party organizations of the republic at the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress—1 delegate per 200 party members (per registration figures on 1 October 1989).

6. Delegates to the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress will be elected at rayon and municipal party conferences from the nominations put forward by delegates from primary party organizations and conferences.

With regard for the wishes of the primary party organizations delegates may be elected also by a decision of the gorkoms and raykoms:

directly in primary party organizations where the numbers of the Communists are not less than the stipulated representation norm;

at general meetings of several primary party organizations with regard for the fact that the overall number of Communists registered in these party organizations permits the election of a delegate (delegates) per the stipulated representation norm.

In all cases the delegates are elected by secret ballot.

To hold the conferences and meetings only for the election of delegates to the congress, bearing in mind that report and election campaigns in municipal and rayon party organizations and also in primary organizations with more than 15 Communists on the register will be held after the congress.

To elect delegates to the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress prior to 25 November 1989.

Communists of military units stationed on the territory of the republic will delegate their representatives in accordance with the quota agreed with the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and Baltic Military District Political Directorate (30-35 persons).

In the course of preparation for the congress, Lithuania's Communists must unite forces, consolidate, and see both the shortcomings and positive aspects of the activity of the primary party organizations and positive experience and take it as a basis.

The plenum expresses the hope that the most active and practical and creative Communists will be elected delegates and that they will convey the mood of their organizations and submit proposals based on prudence and responsibility.

Only in a search for what unites us, and does not divide us, and only by laboring conscientiously and solving questions which are urgent for our group, rayon, city, and republic will we arrive duly prepared at our congress, which will determine the future not only of our party but also Lithuania.

Astrauskas Examines Lithuanian Party Status

90UN0220A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 17 Oct 89 pp 1-3

[Speech by Vitautas Astrauskas, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic and member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, at the 21st Plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, under the general heading: "Discussion of Restructuring the Activity of the Communist Party of Lithuania and the Convocation of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania"; date not given]

[Text] I believe that the roots of the present difficult situation of the CPSU are to be found to a considerable extent primarily in its own position. The Communist Party, which on its own initiative began the process of perestroyka and did much to extend democracy and glasnost, is itself being very slow to reorganize. It remains essentially to a large extent in the old positions, which in the context of the dynamics of renewal appear in quite a contrasting light.

If we look at the efforts of the Lithuanian Communist Party to extend and broaden perestroyka with regard for the interests of the republic's population, we notice how painful is the reflection today not only of the mistakes of the past, but also the indecisiveness and slowness at the start of perestroyka. It was obvious even then that we lacked a clear-cut position. We are still temporizing. But life does not stand still. In addition, attacks on the party have begun, and one-sided evaluations and attempts by certain forces to heap onto it the entire blame for all the troubles—both past and present—have become more frequent. Under these circumstances the Lithuanian Communist Party has found itself in an unenviable position. It seems to me that never in all the history of its existence, including during the times of clandestine activity, has it been at such a crossroads as now.

However, there are no grounds, I believe, for asserting that the party is in the grip of a pessimistic mood and that the organization is no longer looking for or sees a way out. This is not the case. The majority of Lithuania's Communists wants their party to be in the vanguard of perestroyka, for it to respond by its organizational structure and specific actions as fully as possible to the ongoing processes, and for it to consolidate its place in society, not by its constitutional position as has been the case up to now, but by service of the people, expressing by its actions their hopes and aspirations. Present reality is a clearer and more unambiguous reminder than ever that the party's influence and authority depend on the specific results of its activity, an improvement in people's social situation and a strengthening of justice and democracy in public life. I support the speeches of those who propose the adoption of urgent measures to overcome the economic collapse.

And, indeed, we will hardly be likely to find a Communist, if he is an honest man, who would not aspire to a better future for Lithuania and who would not want to see his party united and strong. The debate underway at the present time is confirming this with specific examples of the benevolence and willingness of the party members. It seems to me that nonetheless the Central Committee and its Bureau made a mistake by being late in imparting an organized basis to the debate which had begun in the primary organizations. I refer not to some instructions or other, but drafts of well-conceived and prepared documents. The polemic conducted on the basis thereof would have been far more rational.

As is known, the tune in the debate was called by the party organizations of the intelligentsia. This can only be welcomed. The question arises, however: Are we sufficiently knowledgeable about the opinion of the party organizations of the production outfits? I believe that it would be wrong to ignore them and categorize the republic party organization as monolithic. In addition, the present debate was molded with the assistance of the media also. The one-sidedness of the opinions of some people is also determined to a certain extent by the fact that insufficient account is being taken of the diversity of the party organizations and the national composition of the Communists. Unfortunately, a situation has already taken shape wherein, whatever the path we choose, avoiding a split of the Lithuanian Communist Party could, it seems to me, be very difficult, although this needs to be avoided to the utmost.

Such suggestions as that we need not renew the Lithuanian Communist Party but create it from scratch or, at least, resurrect it are not new today either. I believe that in going this route we would be ignoring the logic of historical development. After all, each process, each current, especially the political ones, has its own sources, its own experience. Can everything be canceled out at a stroke? I believe not.

There have been splendid deeds and rises in the history of the Lithuanian Communist Party, but there have been falls and mistakes, too. Of course, it has in recent decades operated in a system of methods of centralism and command-bureaucratic activity, performing the function of monopoly on the truth which had been imposed on it. However, even under such difficult conditions the Lithuanian Communist Party has preserved its characteristic style of work. It has helped, if only somewhat, to alleviate the deformations in the economy, culture, and policy. It would be expedient in the times of glasnost to more extensively illustrate and analyze several such problems and points of collision on our path. This would not only be a defense of the truth. It would at the same time be a reminder of the lessons of party experience, which are very necessary both now and in the future.

The future of the Lithuanian Communist Party is inseparable from the revival of Lithuania and the renewal process. I support a renewal of the Lithuanian Communist Party and its independence. We need to do this firmly and precisely, dissociating ourselves from Stalinism, dogmatism, and slogan cliches. The party must be democratic, humanitarian, convinced of its ideas, organizationally cohesive, disciplined, and united in its actions. It must consistently and decisively delimit its functions from state functions, renounce command forms and methods of operating completely, and learn to work effectively under conditions where it is not just one political force which is predominant and to defend its goals by democratic means, by way of persuasion, discussion, patient dialogue, and tolerance.

The Lithuanian Communist Party must have its own program and statutes. This is a matter for it and it alone—finding its own forms and methods of party work and the structure of the party authorities and organizations, deciding all questions of cadre policy, and managing its economy and finances absolutely independently. The Lithuanian Communist Party should be inscribed on the party card, and our own set of party symbols is possible also.

A most difficult question of the reform of our party is, to my way of thinking, the Lithuanian Communist Party's relations with the CPSU. There is the opinion that the Lithuanian Communist Party should maintain with the CPSU the same relations as with any communist, socialist, or other party in other countries. This would mean the Lithuanian Communist Party detaching itself from and leaving the CPSU.

Is such a step possible? Would it strengthen the Lithuanian Communist Party? Finally, how would this be accommodated in a specific period? I believe that we need to discuss these questions and find the optimum answers. If we raise the question of the Lithuanian Communist Party's separation from the CPSU, we will not have a logical connection between the present state system in Lithuania and the place of the Lithuanian Communist Party. If Lithuania is currently part of the USSR, the Lithuanian Communist Party should be part of the CPSU.

Of course, account needs to be taken here of both particular conditions and the perestroyka process, and in both cases I refer not to the present status of Lithuania and its Communist Party but their functioning on fundamentally new principles of independence and freedom of activity.

The independence of the Lithuanian Communist Party should be an integral part of an essentially renewed CPSU. This assertion was expounded at the CPSU Central Committee's September Plenum by Algirdas Brazauskas. And this by no means signifies a split of the CPSU. It is a demand of the times.

I understand it to mean that the Lithuanian Communist Party participates in the shaping of the strategy and tactics of the CPSU's general activity and has its representatives on a parity basis in the executive bodies of the CPSU and in the highest bodies also.

Separation from the union, from the CPSU, must be determined not by emotions or some feelings of hatred, but by common sense and a balanced assessment of all arguments—for and against.

The Lithuanian Communist Party is now a real political force aspiring to Lithuania's sovereignty. It is reckoned with in the country and in the CPSU Central Committee, and the Lithuanian Communist Party's constructive proposals are being studied and taken into account to this extent or the other.

But what will happen if we declare that the Lithuanian Communist Party is leaving the CPSU? What will the consequences be? Who will represent Lithuania in the CPSU and its highest bodies? No one! In this case the affairs of Lithuania could deteriorate, the social and political situation would become more complex, and all the work that had been started in the name of Lithuania's revival would come to a halt.

The status of Lithuania and the Lithuanian Communist Party should depend primarily on how the union and the CPSU are reformed. However we might wish otherwise, these processes are as yet, unfortunately, occurring too slowly and awkwardly. The party's preparation for the 28th congress must make things clear.

If everything remains as before, one reaction is possible; if we have all the conditions for becoming masters both on our land and in our party, another reaction is possible.

The party congress should have the final say concerning the Lithuanian Communist Party and its past, present, and future. Preparing it is essential. We could also discuss another option: A party conference with the status of a congress could be held at the end of the present year.

It can only be regretted that there is as yet no common accord concerning the documents to be presented and the rules of the election and representation of delegates. We must aspire to such unity because otherwise two directions of the Lithuanian Communist Party's further activity are possible. And this would not only not bring together the Communists, but also society, would exacerbate the political situation, would greatly harm the republic's progress, and would be reflected in the entire process of perestroyka.

Sajudis Official On Letter 'From U.S.'

LD0611143689 Vilnius LITERATURA IR MENAS in Lithuanian No 42, 14 Oct 89 p 6

[Article by Vytautas Landsbergis entitled "Who Wrote That?" under the rubric: "It is Urgent."]

A letter from overseas reached LITERNATURNAYA GAZETA. It was addressed ("To all those in the Baltics, who would like to hear me out," [see this year's No 40 issue]). Judging from its contents it was not intended for the editorial office, but supposedly for Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians—the so-called "Balts." The author of this letter is Naum Korzhavin, a Russian poet and a US resident of 15 years, who "is ailing on behalf of Russia." From there he reaches his own conclusion, as if according to the "Balts' view (!) he is a representative of (the opposite side). Thus, here, from the first paragraph, he starts to speak on behalf of the others, and of the "awareness" of who these Balts are and what they are seeking, etc...— with appropriate appraisals.

The Baltic countries' quest for independence is directed against Russia. The starting point of this is the poet's assertion, nothing more. We have explained on many occasions how, according to our way of thinking, this type of development and solution of the question, would become economically and politically advantageous for the Soviet Union. In the Russian emigre's letter, however, his view is continually repeated and escalated, namely: You Balts, desire evil and you harm others and everyone. You see, "under the present conditions" it seems "irresponsible and extremist" to demand independence; accept autonomy for the time being, then you can return to the former question later, since, generally speaking, it can be resolved "only on a large unified country scale."

It would suffice to shrug one's shoulders in the face of such logic. Unfortunately, the article was not directed at either logicians or even at Balts. Its fervor and main motive can be found in either the threat to the Soviet Union or restructuring, which, apparently, are decided strictly by the peaceful aims of the Baltic countries. It is as if the existence of the Caucasian and Central Asian problems and the blood already being spilled there did not exist. It is as if there were no worker's despair in the coal mines and transport, no destroyed agriculture and no killing of the soil itself in large territories, no open poverty, no other irritating social injustice, and no threat of famine creeping up from Russia's vast regions. Why bother with the Baltics! That is why they can listen to sermons from Boston, just as they listen to threats from Moscow. At least the Moscow variety is open and more honest in their own fashion, while the text of Boston's poet contains continuous falsifications.

You Balts are attempting to sway "world public opinion" by "causing a commotion," and also "having captured the central government's word and exploiting the government's difficulties...," to just jump out and let the stoneheads vent their fury on those remaining.... **"You don't feel any responsibility for us!"** Guilt should be shouldered also for all the misfortunes brought to Russia by Stalinism since "at times many Balts played a certain quite important role" in the establishment of its ill-fated hold. After all, while some blame the Jews, the Masons, and the Zionists for Russia's and Soviet Union's failure, others are already blaming the Balts.... The principle is the same.

The poet does admit difficulties exist in the Baltic Republics brought about by the artificially established demographic situation and the onslaught of shoppers from other regions. It is as if we have not heard of such "measures" where "amateurish customs inspections trains and buses," are carried out "one should think(!) with patriotic fervor" because one is retrieving one's own property from the occupiers!

Here N. Korzhavin delights in what I would describe as views of surrealist art and "does not understand" Estonian discriminators "taking away election rights" from those who just arrived yesterday; and, already he knows we would turm into oppressors and deporters of other nationalities once we attained our independence. It doesn't matter to him, unfortunately, that this is neither our tradition nor our manner of thinking. Only his insinuation is clear—someone, more responsible should block the way to our future misdeeds. Then, finally, the author reveals himself having blamed the Balts for "national egotism," for which "formerly" they paid with 20 years but now that might come to pass a lot sooner.

Thus, volunteer exploits, the Wars of Independence on four-sided fronts that had claimed a large number of victims, rebuilding of one's own state, its establishment in all areas of politics, economics, administration, education, science, health protection, and communications—all that apparently was egotistically evil. Only then the punishment of 1940 did not come swiftly.... Comrade Korzhavin, there is no way you could have sunk any lower; you have reached the same moral bottom where can be found Molotov's former cynicism and the unforgettable Central Committee CPSU declaration's frenzy: Just try it—you won't live!

Your letter could very well have been composed in Moscow. That's where it surfaced on the eve of the

Estonian Supreme Soviet's session where our fate bothers were to reply to the scheduled Moscow ultimatum. Your letter constitutes a good complement to the earlier shameful RSFSR writers' attack directed against the Estonians, as well as to the many lies concerning the Baltics by PRAVDA. It cannot be denied that it is more refined. This text was to be furnished more credibility by the meaningless acknowledgement of "our" abstract justice, a couple of words about "your" transgressions, and especially the signature of a foreigner and a supposedly impartial observer. **Who** wrote this in truth? Cultural expert who are you and who are you aligned with?

Paths to Lithuania's 'Rebirth' Examined

LD0311145789 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 14 Oct 89 p 4

[Article by Algirdas Pukelis, chief of the Organization Section of the Pozela Rayon Party Committe, Kaunas City, entitled "Near Reality Or Distant Dream? Thoughts About Lithuania's Rebirth" under the rubric "Thus We Are Deliberate." First two paragraphs are newspaper's introduction.]

[Text] The declaration by a group of our republic's science, culture, and industrial leaders on the question of Lithuanian sovereignty, which was published in 21 September TIESA, evoked considerable reaction.

Experienced individuals who have seen life are well aware of the fact that in striving to attain a great goal, there always exists, in addition to paths that reject one another, at least one additional one, a third path—most often the most effective. In order to clarify which path it is to be, however, a polarization of opinions is essential.

Three Paths

We are linking national rebirth with restructuring in a totally well-founded manner. Thanks to restructuring we also have spoken out on paths to Lithuania's future.

The polarization of opinions began to develop last fall, at the Sajudis Congress. It was hastened by the 16th of February, following the independence declaration that was adopted at the Sajudis meeting. It was as if the declaration by the CPSU Party Central Committee published in the press on 27 August, "Concerning the Situation in the Soviet Baltic Republics," finished that stage.

Thus, the first path—the Sajudis variant: through victory in the 1990 election to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic's Supreme Soviet, through a referendum toward independence, thus presenting the USSR Government at the same time with an accomplished fact.

This path appears very simple. However, not everything that is simple is great. It seems to me a practically insurmountable wolf's lair from which it would be barely possible to extricate oneself is lurking along this type of path. It appears totally possible—events in Lithuania could proceed along those lines. This is reinforced by many recent events in social and political life. Moreover, issuing declarations alone does not change the basic situation and indicates desires but not the possibilities for their implementation. Appropriate political and economic conditions also need to be present. We all must bear in mind that the Lithuanian question, alas, will be considered not only in Lithuania but also in Moscow, and it will depend on the point of view of the Western countries as well as on world opinion.

The second path to Lithuania's future has been marked out suddenly and threateningly in the above-mentioned CPSU Central Committee declaration "Concerning The Situation In The Baltic Countries": We are going to preserve the Soviet family of nations and the unity of the CPSU ranks!" There is no need to comment on this, but to ignore it is also dangerous.

Thus here, at the point where these two paths cross each other, a third one begins to emerge; for the time being, it is not a path, but a small track. It is further clarified by the 29 August 1989 Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee declaration. There, even under conditions of political pressure from the center, it is openly stated that "the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party is firmly convinced the principle of 'Lithuania without sovereignty—Lithuania without a future,' that was born under conditions of national rebirth, has demonstrated its vitality, has been given the people's approval, and further, remains the principal goal of all communists." The small track could become a large highway, in the near future. Under favorable conditions and with support support from the nation and all the people of Lithuania, it can be broadened and straightened.

I think that, in spite of what is being said and argued by some, the Communist Party, first of all, is currently the most important political force, whose leaders, working under complicated conditions of pressure from all sides, and taking serious risks in their relations with the center, are able to attain changes favorable to us. The Lithuanian Communist Party alone, without allies, will not implement all goals, however. By their decisive and daring actions, Lithuanian Communists are demonstrating they can represent national interests and justify expectations. The 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, which will take place this year, will become a new landmark for great tasks.

Concepts of "actuality" and "actual" etc., have not been in vogue recently. It would be of some use, nevertheless, to consider the actuality of each of these paths. I do not wish to begin with the first one. That one is straight and offers fast results, as if by waving a magic wand; and it is, alas, currently indescribably complicated. I would like to start with the second one, which was offered by the CPSU Central Committee declaration "On the Conditions in the Soviet Baltic Republics."

If You Turn Left

The political situation within the entire Soviet Union is now highly changeable. Two approaches may be used in maintaining Lithuania and the Lithuanian Communist Party within the current united framework of the USSR and CPSU. The first—to tighten centralization. That, however, would be equivalent to a demise of M. Gorbachev's recent policy. The other approach—to loosen the reins to such an extent there would be no reason to seek independence from union departments or of any other kind. Intermediate variants are straining the economic and political situation, giving rise to protest and urging its expression. In view of the great value we attach to the restructuring policy, we can not reconcile it in any manner with the CPSU Central Committee declaration and the campaigns inspired by it urging its support throughout the entire vast Fatherland.

Is it possible to return to the "stability"-ensuring, iron fist policy? Moscow should not decide on a current use of openly totalitarian methods. However, it seems to me, it is not prepared to openly discuss Lithuanian problems that concern us. By means of an iron-hand policy specter, attempts are being made to regulate processes in Lithuania in a self-benefial direction. There are those who try to assert that, by manipulating the "intermovements," and through certain other means available to the center, perhaps hope is nurtured, larger incidents of unrest can be provoked at a propitious time, perhaps even resembling the tragic events in the USSR's south. This is very dangerous, however, since measures of restraint would have to be put into effect on two fronts "in the south" and in "the west." In addition, it would be totally realistic to expect that the victoriously concluded coal mine strikes will give rise to crises in other branches and regions of industry, since the coal miners' problems were resolved practically at the expense of others. Thus, this type of status quo legitimizing path is a dead end, since it would deepen the economic crisis and would destroy the first, more or less unsuccessful attempts at democratizing the public, but already without such enthusiasm and even under stricter economic conditions. The current Moscow leadership also understands that perfectly well.

The belief that M. Gorbachev, more than any other Moscow leader, will agree to satisfy all of Lithuania's goals is rather unfounded. However, were there only a few of our rebirth accomplishments that very recently were considered impossible, and now we are enjoying their first fruits?

According to the 19th Century American philosopher and psychologist, V. James, any given idea passes through three stages: initially, it is attacked and labeled as absurd; later, it begins to elicit agreement that it may even be good and true but not significant; and finally, its true worth gains recognition and then the struggle begins for the priority of its discovery.

The land's highest government of late frequently totally ignores new directions and proposals for resolving pressing problems. Following the elapse of some time, assertions are presented as new concepts and start drawing comments. This occurs, in order for a categorical "no" answer to be given one more time. Discussions follow later on why "not" and attempts are made to argue this in every way possible...

The greatest fear, in the Baltics is not to be found in riots, strikes, etc., but that a "bad example" might be given. It appears the highest USSR leadership, or at least its majority, understands the necessity for political and economic changes that are unavoidable. However, some of them apparently become panic-stricken at the prospect of a "chain reaction" that might be given impetus by the "bad example" of separated border areas.

In considering our problems, we must not forget those of others: we are closely connected with them. The "separation process" could take place much more placidly and without excesses in the European part. In the south, they could not manage without civil war. I don't think there is any need to prove that. It is also for this reason that the Lithuanian people and the republic political powers must view M. Gorbachev's and his supporters' problems as our own.

What We Are Offered

To date, the central government and departments were all-powerful in Lithuania and this has already been proven. Now it is proposing we conduct our affairs in a different manner—it is granting Lithuania de facto economic self-determination, however it foresees giving the USSR de jure powers "that are necessary for the establishment of principles for the political system and its development, for the country's defense and safety guarantees, for conducting foreign policy, for economy, science and culture and individual protection and rights guarantees, for the effective use of integrated processes and mutual assistance in the coordination and solution of common tasks" ("National Party Policy Under Current Conditions, CPSU platform." TIESA 24 Sep 89).

For this reason, it is vitally essential for all political forces to consider how much self-determination is given and in return for what concessions. A vital condition in considering the future is to analyze this dillema dialectically. If we are to go along the path proposed by Moscow, we must be given assurances; the right to self-determination obtained under those conditions would develop and not become narrower.

The objective reality for Lithuania rests in the fact that we must seek negotiations and not be seeking to escape from them. We need time to firmly implant in the people's consciousness and existence that which we have achieved. There will be those who will say: One does not negotiate for freedom, we value freedom above all! Well then, I will reply: I value a healthy and free individual more.

Being conscious of the fact that everything moves and changes, it may be expected all our proposals will, in time, not be simply rejected. Even the idea of independence has gone from being ignored to categorical denial, and in the not-too-distant future it may become a basis for negotiation. It is imperative to acquaint people of other nationalities who reside in Lithuania with it We must not only invite them, but also receive them in our midst.

Our Communist Party's slogan "Lithuania Without Sovereignty—Lithuania Without Future," should also become a factor for consolidation. This is highly important, since Lithuania will not attain by force the future it seeks, and no one is going to offer us the changes we await. Lithuania can attain its present goals, just as it has done to date, only by resolution, perseverance, intelligence, and dilligence.

In The Name Of This Lithuania

Since the fall of 1988, the Lithuanian Communist Party and its leadership have been inviting all political forces to consolidate on the road to sovereignty without stepping on one another's heels.

Why is this exhortation that is supported by so many not receiving real support and understanding at other political forces' headquarters? Why are sticks being stuck in the spokes again? I think one reason should especially be singled out from the others—the Lithuanian Communist Party is not yet an independent part of the Lithuanian political system. Our republic's Party leadership, and even the present Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, have taken more than one decisive step toward speeding up restructuring also within the party. It would be naive to think taht the, Lithuanian Communists' goal to get away from the current dependence on the CPSU has been favorably received everywhere. Voices of those who think along old lines can be heard in Lithuania also, and a union mass media information campaign against the Lithuanian Communist Party leadership may be begun, accusing it of "artificially forcing" discussion on the Lithuanian Communist Party's status, etc. An attempt may be made to remove the present Communist Party leaders with the help of the old Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party. If this type of sad sequence of events comes to pass, it will be very reminiscent of the tragic 1926 events in Lithuania, when the Lithuanian Communist Party, headed by K. Pozela, tried to escape the Comintern's clutches.

Currently, much is dependent on the view and support of every Party member and every resident of the republic. If Lithuanian Communists, while remaining loyal to the ideological platform of all Communists—socialism in its true concept—will manage to found an organizationally independent party and to convince the majority of Lithuania's residents of its program's and tactic's correctness, significant results could be expected. It would be totally realistic then to expect that Moscow would finally recognize and even support the Lithuanian Communist Party's program, "Lithuania Without Sovereignty—Lithuania Without a Future," since without progressive Communists and Sajudis members, there are no other influential political forces that, in a manner optimal and acceptable to everyone, could lead Lithuania out of a crisis situation. Only three political forces in existence today are capable of deciding Lithuania's future: the CPSU, the newly active Lithuanian Communist Party, and Sajudis. The latter sensed what Lithuania needs and awakened it. Due to many circumstances for which it is not alone responsible, it will not be able to implement all of the ideas raised by Sajudis. If success could be attained in implementing the Lithuanian Communist Party goal of independence and separation from the CPSU in an organizational capacity, events of collosal significance in Lithuania's internal political life could follow. First of all, the Lithuanian Communist Party program, within which, judging from everything, Lithuania's independence will become a strategic goal, would enable the Lithuanian Communists to sit down at the negotiating table with Sajudis. An agreement could be reached and a common platform could be adopted on elections to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

This type of alliance would be helpful in considering actual interests of various nationalities and social groups and would enable a long step forward in the quest for an opportunity to establish a cooperation mechanism that would help to insure realization of constructive ideas.

The nation has awakened and has realized the unanimously recognized universal principle that its sovereign rights should preempt any other goals in world politics. A difficult task awaits us in strengthening Lithuania's economic base and the public's internal unity where the interests of all social strata and nations will be fulfilled naturally and legally. It will be impossible to proceed further here without Lithuania's Communists. This is far from the most direct path; however, it is the fastest. Undoubtedly, other political forces should contribute their input; however, the following three should voice the deciding words in the nearest future: Sajudis, the Lithuanian Communists and...Moscow. Their role has been greatly changeable, dissimilar, and unevenly decisive at various times, but equally significant. Whether the third path is truly the most effective one will be demonstrated once we have chosen it in the near future.

Editorial Note. Having been awakened by restructuring, the public has placed it on the agenda and is actively deliberating the question of Lithuania's future. Possible directions of announcing the republic's sovereignty are discussed in this article. However, how realistic is it to declare our independence today? Our republic is not economically independent and is joined to other union republics by many ties. Thus, under such conditions, what should be a nonutopian but actual independence of Lithuania and what are the true contents of this concept?

In printing the above article, intended for deliberation, we invite our readers to share their thoughts on the process of establishment of the Lithuanian sovereignty process and preparation of possibilities for independent existence while taking into account all of the economic, geopolitical, and cultural conditions of today's world.

We hope to hear from scientists, public activists, practical experts, and all readers concerned with Lithuania's future. We await your articles, letters and argumentative opinions.

Moldavian Communist Party Plenum Resolution

90UN0072A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 3 Oct 89 p 1

[Resolution of the 25th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia, adopted 30 September 1989: "On the Sociopolitical Situation, Interethnic Relations, and the Tasks of Party Organizations of the Republic Proceeding from the Decisions of the September (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] 1. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia approves the CPSU political platform "On the National Policies of the Party Under Current Conditions." Expressing the views of Moldavian Communists, the plenum shares the principles and conclusions contained in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the September (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the necessity for further improving the political mechanisms for resolving topical issues regarding the development of the peoples of our country and interethnic relations, consolidating the union of republics with equal rights, effecting the free development and functioning of languages—including the advisability of securing the status of Russian as the universal state language to be used over the entirety of the country and to function on an equal basis with the state languages of the republics, and on enriching the content of CPSU activities and the activities of its echelons on the basis of unshakable Leninist principles of construction—primarily of democratic centralism, and it acknowledges these as the basis for the practical work of the party organization of the republic.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party believes that the CPSU platform affords a real opportunity for affirming the republic's sovereignty and has created the necessary conditions for overcoming distortions in the interethnic sphere, for effecting a spiritual rebirth of all nations and peoples.

The socialist period of development of Moldavia is characterized by the reconstruction of its status as a state, a steady rise in its economic and spiritual potential, the formation of large-scale forces of production and a working class, and by an increased level of education and well-being of its population.

At the same time, the departure from the Leninist concept of national policies allowed earlier, the tragic consequences of massive repressions, and obstacles on the path to national development erected by the command-bureaucratic system have led to an exacerbation of interethnic contradictions, a significant narrowing of the rights of the republic, migration-caused growth of the population and changes in its structure, and have created additional difficulties of a social, political, and spiritual nature.

Perestroyka has set in motion powerful mechanisms of popular activity, and is forming qualitatively new sociopolitical relationships. It is the only reliable basis for social progress, for resolving economic, ecological, and demographic problems, for developing language and culture, and affirming national dignity.

At the same time, development of the processes of renewal is being held back by the inconsistent implementation of economic reforms, tardy accomplishment of social programs, disorder in the consumer market, and growth in crime. Errors and miscalculations in management, in the development of forces of production and good use of labor resources, a lack of appropriate attention devoted to developing national cultures and dealing with problems of ethics and morality—these factors have had a pronounced effect. The situation is aggravated by an inadequate assessment of actual social processes, distortions in language usage, indifference to ethnic particularities, inadequate consideration of specific local conditions, and ever-increasing manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, and extremism.

These and other factors are painfully reflected in the national consciousness and lead to significant complications in the sociopolitical situation of the republic; they exacerbate interethnic relations.

A political analysis of the situation in Moldavia will show real and significant errors in the activity of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party and its Bureau, and in the activity of the ruling party, soviet, economic, and social organs of the republic.

The conclusions contained in the CPSU Central Committee Declaration on the Situation in the Soviet Baltic Republics also apply to Moldavia to a significant degree, and are perceived by Communists in the republic as cause for concern regarding the integrity and destiny of the unified family of Soviet peoples, concern for unity in the ranks of the CPSU.

The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party will develop a specific plan of action with regard to implementing the ideas and provisions set forth in the CPSU platform "On National Policies of the Party Under Current Conditions," improving the sociopolitical environment—providing in this regard for the establishment of effective political, state, social, and economic conditions which would ensure true fulfillment of the republic's sovereignty as a member of the Soviet federation and strengthen the guarantees which prevent encroachment upon citizens' rights based on ethnicity, developing mechanisms for the harmonious and all-encompassing development of national cultures, reaffirming in interethnic contacts a mutual respect for historical traditions and ethnic characteristics, and taking into account the economic and spiritual interests of all people who live in Moldavia.

Taking into consideration the sharp criticism delivered by certain Communists, members of the Central Committee, and party organizations toward the Central Committee Bureau and First Secretary S.K. Grossu, and some people's even the calling into question of their continued leadership of the Moldavian Party organization, the Central Committee plenum demands that they undertake exhaustive measures to stabilize the situation in the republic, consolidate all powerful forces, and exercise decisiveness and unity of action. The plenum expresses its confidence in the Central Committee Bureau and in S.K. Grossu, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party.

Members and candidate members of the Central Committee Bureau and members of elective organs of the Moldavian Communist Party will report in the near future in the primary party organizations on the activity of the Central Committee, and on their own work. They will deliver the meaning and content—most importantly, the decisions of the September (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and this plenum—to every communist and every resident of the republic.

Party city committees [gorkoms], rayon committees [raykoms], and primary party organizations will fundamentally reevaluate their approaches to the administration of social processes, and will significantly step up their search for ways of perfecting style and work methods, of making appropriate demands on their time. They will critically analyze the state of national and interethnic relations and program measures for preventing political extremism, ethnic narrow-mindedness, and chauvinistic manifestations. They will organize effective supervision of the implementation of such measures and hold responsible individuals accountable for failure in this regard.

2. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party notes that the level of political activity presently underway does not correspond with the complexity and criticality of the tasks of universal affirmation of healthy interethnic relations, the tasks of stabilizing the sociopolitical situation in the republic. A number of party committees and primary party organizations are not thoroughly analyzing the processes which are taking place. They are too slow in learning new work forms and methods; they are lagging behind, losing initiative.

The Central Committee Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party, party gorkoms and raykoms, have not ensured the implementation of measures programmed by the 13th Central Committee Plenum regarding stabilization of the sociopolitical situation and improving interethnic relations. They have not made appropriate demands on communists concerning their assimilation of political methods of influencing social processes, or their thorough search for new ways of combining centralism and democracy, for actively formulating a perestroyka consciousness, for enhancing the political culture of the masses and formulating traditions of respect for the law.

Communists who serve in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, in the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, in the local soviets of people's deputies, and many deputies have been timid in their efforts to develop democracy to the utmost, attain genuine power for the people, to perfect the administration of the national economy and switch to economic work methods, and to implement social programs.

Communists of the Moldavian Trade Union Council, of republic-level committees and primary trade union organizations have been using their influence ineffectively in protecting the rights and legitimate interests of the working class. They shy away from active participation in sociopolitical processes.

The Central Committee of the Moldavian Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] and a significant portion of committees and primary Komsomol organizations have not yet overcome formalism and staged-scripting in their work. They are unable to counteract the crisis phenomena which have arisen in the Komsomol and youth environment.

The Central Committee Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party, party gorkoms and raykoms will unite all echelons of the sociopolitical system in the republic so as to establish a secure civil peace. They will undertake measures to enhance intraparty democracy, accelerate processes of renewal, expand the independence of the republic party organization, and perfect its structure and functions as an integral part of the CPSU.

The Central Committee Bureau will be directed to prepare, within the framework of the CPSU program and statutes and with the participation of members of Central Committee commissions, an aktiv and a sociopolitical platform which reflects specific ethnic requirements and operating conditions for Communists in the republic. This platform will be placed at the foundation of party discussion on the coming 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Moldavia. It is considered advisable to form a commission of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party in the near future to deal with questions of ethnic policy.

The Central Committee Bureau, party gorkoms and raykoms, and primary party organizations will, proceeding from the provisions of the September (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, use all political and educational means at their disposal to fight for the ideological and organizational unity of the Communist Party of Moldavia, for the consolidation of party discipline. All party committees—beginning with the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party—must provide the example of unity, cohesion, and organization in this regard. Demarcation in party ranks, labor collectives, and social organizations on ethnic grounds will not be tolerated. Nationalistic and chauvinistic views and judgments are incompatible with CPSU membership.

The above-mentioned organs will by more exacting of cadres regarding the duty with which they are entrusted. They will make a principled evaluation of manifestations of bureaucratism and social injustice, irresponsibility and incompetence, regionalism and favoritism. It is considered expedient to examine the qualifications of cadres everywhere and, when necessary, effect bold personnel changes in critical areas.

They will examine preparations for the upcoming elections to the Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies in the republic as a priority task for Communists. They will ensure that individuals nominated to the soviets of people's deputies enjoy the confidence of the population, uncompromisingly defend socialist values, stand firmly on principles of internationalism, and show conviction in their adherence to perestroyka.

They will put into practice reports rendered by CPSU members and USSR people's deputies on their activities at meetings, plenums, and conferences of party organizations.

They will substantially reevaluate their approaches to and mutual relationships with trade union, Komsomol, and other social organizations. They will direct the efforts of these organizations toward resolving interethnic social issues and will make every effort to facilitate actualization of their social objectives on the basis of making principled demands of Communists who work there, consolidating the cadre, and effecting comradely cooperation in partnership.

3. The Central Committee plenum, affirming its adherence to further democratization in the social life of the republic, declares its support for participation in this regard of all organizations, formations, and movements which stand on the platform of perestroyka. At the same time, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the extremist aspirations of a certain segment of independent formations, their attempts to belittle the role and position of the Party in society, to drive a wedge between the workers and the CPSU, to see only the negative aspects of the historical past of our country and republic, are leading to an arousal of negative passions and emotions, to confrontation. Such unhealthy phenomena have been observed during rallies and marches, especially during the period of discussion and adoption of the laws concerning language.

The Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party stresses that ultimatums, categorical approaches, disregard for existing law, the use of force in resolving problems, and the striving to establish parallel structures of authority by any means seriously undermine the opportunity for a constructive dialogue with independent formations.

Moreover, appeals to redraw existing borders, to elevate one nation at the expense of another, to tarnish everything which has been built over decades of socialist construction, to repudiate the legitimacy of Moldavia's entry into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the legality of the present state authority—these are not only blasphemous, but politically criminal as well.

The Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party sees as its most important task, and the task of city and rayon party committees and primary party organizations the leadership of the process of expanding the social intensity of the people, of imbuing in them creative as opposed to destructive principles, of carrying on a constant dialogue rich in content with all independent formations of the republic which stand on the platform of perestroyka, and of putting an end to any extremist phenomena. Recognizing the right of others to independent thought and activity, the Central Committee will undertake intensive efforts to win over public opinion and social sympathies to its cause.

4. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party considers as just the concern of the people abruptly caught up in the sociopolitical situation caused by untimely measures taken with respect to manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, extremism, anti-Sovietism, anti-Russian and anti-Moldavian sentiment, inadequate explanatory work during preparations for and conduct of the 13th Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR, subjective interpretation of the laws concerning language in the mass information media, and the confrontation of independent formations. This has led to an intensification of demarcation processes among the population based on ethnic considerations and has provided a motive for political strikes.

The Central Committee plenum declares that political strikes comprise an unacceptable means of attaining an end, and the concept of a Dnestr Autonomy is nothing other than one more attempt to evoke chaos in people's minds and escalate tension in interethnic relations.

The Communist leadership of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet (Comrade M.I. Snegur) will enhance the role and responsibility of local soviets for effecting true sovereignty and independence, for repulsing attempts to use local organs of Soviet authority to implement nonconstructive aims and requirements contrary to the goals of perestroyka. It will intensify its efforts to organize a legal concept for regulating interethnic relations and for providing guarantees to protect the rights of all national groups traditionally residing in the Moldavian SSR. This will include resolving the issue of Gagauz autonomy, creating the judicial premises for the full-blooded functioning of national-cultural centers, societies, and regional groups. The leadership will develop a legal mechanism for considering public opinion and enlisting the broad-scale effort of the working class in the lawmaking process, for forecasting the sociopolitical consequences of adopting normative acts. It will develop a procedure, in accordance with USSR legislation, for legal regulation of the conduct of strikes.

In order to establish a solid legal base for the political and economic reforms being undertaken, the Central Committee plenum declares its support of the necessity to draw up a new draft constitution of the Moldavian SSR.

5. The slow pace of perestroyka in ideological work is cause for serious concern. The activity of party, state, and social organizations still shows the existence of stereotypes, antiquated concepts with regard to interethnic relations, and complacency in evaluating the situation. Some of the people exhibit political indifference, a weakening of moral foundation, penetration of nationalistic delusions into their consciousness, pessimistic and decadent moods. An open or concealed departure from party principles can be seen in certain collectives of educational institutions and creative unions.

The plenum demands that the Central Committee Bureau, party gorkoms and raykoms, and primary party organizations effect a renewal of all ideological-political and educational work in the sphere of ethnic interrelations with a view to facilitating people's national and moral rebirth, improving and enriching their spiritual life, creating in them a high political culture, and enhancing their international and patriotic education.

Taking into account the new linguistic situation which has developed and the necessity to improve language relationships in the republic, commissions of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, the Ministry of People's Education, the Ministry of Culture; the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade; and other ministries will thoroughly work out practical measures to implement the state's Comprehensive Program for the Functioning of Languages in the Moldavian SSR and transition to the Latin script, and to create favorable conditions for studying the native languages of the population, to realistically develop national-Russian and Russian-national bilingualism.

The above-mentioned organs will accelerate the establishment of independent institutes for language learning, Gagauz studies, and Bulgarian studies of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences.

The Central Committee Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party, party gorkoms and raykoms will substantially improve the theoretical-scientific training of their ideological cadres, reinforce their number with people who are capable of creative effort and analytical thought, able to use reasoned judgment in defending socialist ideals and values, capable of precisely defining the line between the growth of national self-consciousness and nationalism, between national greatness and great-power chauvinism—people who are sensitive and responsive to all legitimate demands and expectations of an ethnic nature.

They will change the content of activity with regard to forming an internationalist consciousness, proceeding from the premise that this does not deny national rights but involves an increased attention to national interests, the safeguarding of values universal to all mankind, and consideration of trends toward integration on an objective basis.

6. The plenum emphasizes the crucial role of the scientific, creative, and technology intelligentsia in improving interethnic relations, stabilizing and consolidating the sociopolitical environment, effecting the further humanization of society, and improving the moral-ideological and esthetic upbringing of people. Communists in leadership positions, the Party organizations of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of People's Education, and creative unions, scholars, and social scientists will seek new, nonstandard approaches and will intensify their scientific research, especially in the sphere of the history of Moldavia and its state emblems, effecting a decisive shift toward meeting social needs.

They will organize an integrated program of theoretical and ethnosociological research on the objective processes of the development of nations and national relations in the republic, on removing inflexibility and dogmatism from theory and practice, and on developing scientifically based recommendations.

7. The sociopolitical situation which has developed and the exacerbation of interethnic relations are directly related to the unstable economic situation in the republic. At its foundation lie miscalculations, a lack of appropriate flexibility, single-mindedness in the management of branches of the national economy, imperfections in the management mechanism, social problems which have bared themselves to the limit, and a lessening of people's labor activity. Many management cadres are unable to maintain a working organization under nonstandard conditions. They lack the required competence and are slow to introduce the use of new management methods.

As before, we feel the lack of high-demand consumer goods on the market. Residential construction and construction of everyday and cultural facilities are increasing slowly; ecological problems are not being resolved effectively. Perestroyka is not evident in the activity of the agroindustrial complex—its material-technical base and the social infrastructure of the village are lagging behind in their development and, as a result, the problem of providing food remains severe. All of this—aggravated by the strikes which have taken place—have had a negative effect on the economics and financial situation of the republic.

The plenum considers it necessary to concentrate the efforts of the Central Committee Bureau, party gorkoms and raykoms, primary party organizations, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs, economic managers, and councils of labor collectives toward resolving the priority trends of economic development in accordance with requirements for consolidating the all-union federation, expanding the sovereign rights of the republic and its role in the all-union division of labor, and developing to these ends an optimal model of regional self-government, ensuring production intensification on the basis of enhanced economic accountability relations, consolidating discipline and organization in all echelons of management and production. Urgent and effective measures must be undertaken as well to bring the financial condition of the republic's economy back to health.

CPSU members, the leadership of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers (Comrade I.P. Kalin), leaders of ministries and departments, of city and rayon executive committees [ispolkoms], will accomplish effective economic transformations, will fundamentally alter the way they satisfy worker needs and requirements, and will scrutinize these needs as a matter of prime importance.

The leadership will accelerate and qualitatively improve the preparation of proposals for transforming the republic to regional economic accountability, self-financing, and self-supply. In accordance with the circumstances proceeding from implementing perestroyka. it will provide—in the General Management Scheme and program documents for the development of Moldavia's economy for the 13th 5-Year Plan and the future—all-encompassing measures to perfect forms of ownership and property relations, structural and investment policies, and distribution of production forces taking into account full employment of the population, to develop local self-government and local management, to eliminate disproportions in the economic and social development of certain territories in the republic.

The leadership will purposefully and consistently pursue a policy of stabilizing the consumer market and currency circulation, accelerating growth in the volume of consumer goods and paid services, attaining the utmost increase in food production and radically improving the supply of produce to the population, and unconditionally fufilling housing construction and ecological programs. It will be more demanding of cadres with respect to their observation of discipline in executing their tasks. It will mobilize labor collectives to accelerate recovery of losses suffered, accelerate the fulfillment of contractual obligations.

8. The plenum believes that in the present environment, law enforcement organs are exhibiting passivity and indecisiveness; that they are reconciling themselves to instances of nationalism, chauvinism, and the kindling of enmity between peoples; that they are poorly utilizing the force of the law. A bad crime situation negatively affects the social state of well-being of a population. The number of crimes committed this year has risen by a third.

Communists, employees in the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Justice, the KGB, the Moldavian SSR Supreme Court, and the Moldavian SSR Prosecutor's Office will, through the personal responsibility of their leaders, wage a struggle against crime and other negative phenomena. They will boldly and resolutely overcome the opposition of corruption-prone elements.

They will introduce proposals providing for the adoption of legislation which will ensure protection of the national honor and dignity of citizens, protection of state interests, and judicial protection for police, the courts, and the prosecutor's office.

Party and soviet organs will enhance the responsibility of law enforcement organs with respect to the maintenance of social order and precise accomplishment of the responsibilities with which they have been entrusted. They will exercise constant concern with respect to consolidating their ranks with highly qualified cadres, increasing their prestige, rendering them necessary assistance and attention. They will encourage labor collectives and society to wage an uncompromising struggle against crime, drunkenness, and drug abuse.

9. The plenum calls the attention of leaders in the mass information media to the fact that they have not drawn the appropriate conclusions from decisions of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia and subsequent resolutions of the Central Committee Bureau. Subjectivism and tendentiousness continue to be seen in the reporting of republic events and phenomena. Certain publications, television and radio broadcasts provide superficial coverage. They are not well thought out and are prepared without taking into account their effect on the formation of public opinion and interethnic relations.

The present situation points out the necessity for party committees to effect a radical restructuring of the management of the mass information and propaganda media, to constantly involve themselves in their problems, and to develop constructive, organizational principles for their operation. Communists in journalism and the heads of publication collectives must consistently pursue party policy in the mass media, must eradicate arrogance and the pursuit of sensationalism observed in journalism, must remove the inclination to cater to group interests.

10. The Central Committee Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party will scrutinize comments and proposals presented by participants in this plenum, and will undertake exhaustive measures to implement them. They will hear in-progress reports of implementation at the next Central Committee plenum.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party appeals to all communists, workers, intelligentsia, party, war and labor veterans, to our youth, to representatives of all nations and peoples residing on the territory of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic to display, during this complicated and crucial period for the party and perestroyka, the political maturity, civic awareness, and popular wisdom which embody genuine humanism, high moral and human qualities, and the culture of interethnic relations which has evolved over centuries. Prudence, restraint, cohesion, and the consolidation of all powerful forces in society—this is what is demanded of each individual in the name of achieving triumph for the concepts of perestroyka.

Projected Reforms Likely To Split Komsomol

PM2510104389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by Sergey Papin, candidate member of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League Central Committee, under the rubric "Every Day in the Same Spot": "Not a Single Union but a United One!"]

[Text] Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic—Everyone is saying it now: The All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] is going through a crisis... Everyone is engaged in a stormy debate on how it should extricate itself from the crisis before all young people resign from it. So we were offered three draft Komsomol statutes at the plenum. Three straws at which to clutch to get out of the crisis. On reading the drafts, however, you recall the folk tale about the young hero standing before the signpost at the junction of three paths. Take the one to the right, and you'll lose your horse. Take the one to the left, and you'll lose your head. Go straight ahead, and you'll lose something else. Which path should the Komsomol take?

The first draft statute speaks about elements of the Komsomol's federal structure. It states that the Komsomol is made up of union republic Communist Youth Leagues accepting the Komsomol's statutes and program and its objectives and tasks. It accepts that all youth leagues belonging to the Komsomol may have their own statutes and programs. The second proposes the creation of a fundamentally new organization of the Soviet Union's Leninist Communist Youth League, different from today's Komsomol. The third suggests a league of youth leagues with their own statutes and programs which do not contradict the Komsomol's statute and program.

It seems to me that, whichever draft we adopt, there will be no more crisis within the Komsomol. Why? Simply because the All-Union Komsomol itself will no longer exist; the Komsomol will simply transform itself into a Communist Youth International. It is still communist for the time being, but a number of regions have already suggested renaming their youth leagues socialist or democratic. What then? In my view, whichever of the three paths suggested by the drafts we take, we shall lose the main element—the fact that the league must be united, an all-union one.

I anticipate being reproached for favoring the obsolete model which actually led us into the crisis. But if we now take any one of the three suggested paths, we will end up in an even deeper crisis of our own making. Instead of the consolidation of healthy forces, we will end up with a split between youth leagues, quite likely along nationality lines. When speaking about a league of leagues, about federalism, we proceed from the country's state structure, the union's federalism. But what might suit a state structure cannot necessarily be transferred to a public organization. Now we are reminding ourselves of the history of our country's creation, looking up documents from the past to find out where we diverged from the correct path to genuine federation. But let us then remind ourselves of the history of the question of political federal relations. Let us remind ourselves of the debate about the Bund's position within the party at the Second Russian Social Democratic Workers Party Congress. It was at that congress, incidentally, that the possibility of federal relations between the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party and the Bund was rejected.

What does the league of leagues offer us today? It is impossible to answer this question outside the context of the present-day situation—the exacerbation of interethnic relations. Today there is a strong tendency to part company and occupy national apartments, bolting the doors in the process. In my view, a league of leagues in today's actual situation will not bring young people closer but will divide them still further along nationality lines. Using partition walls, we are dividing the country's common apartment into ethnic rooms. And we will end up with a real communal apartment. Each league will adopt its own statute and program, its own attributes, and its own membership cards, but we will lose the international membership card in the process.

There is no argument that the state structure must be federal. But in order to bring closer together people living in different parts of the federation and yet in the same state, we need an all-union, statewide youth organization. Some people might reproach me, claiming that I advocate a "united and indivisible" organization. But let us examine the experience of the free and democratic West. Whereas earlier we compared everything with 1913, now we compare things with Western democracy. The point is that even they have no divisions within a single party or organization—like the Labor Party, for example—along national lines. Every state or shire has its own branch of one party or another. On the other hand, in accepting party leadership in some form, we must follow the party's example. The CPSU—judging by the last plenum's materials—has been and will remain a united and all-union party.

What about us? At present we have union republic Communist Youth Leagues. Now it is proposed to consolidate this by creating a league of leagues. It seems to me, however, that each republic and oblast must have a branch of a united all-union Komsomol organization. It should, for example, be known as the Tajik Republican Organization of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League, with its own Central Committee, regardless of whether we are dealing with a union republic or an autonomous republic. Rights and powers must be broader than the present ones.

There must be a single statute for all, but when it comes to programs, each Komsomol branch could define its own paths to attain the set goal.

Yes, we have now rejected the monopoly of representing all young people. So let us work with those who share our ideas, who want to belong to an all-union league regardless of nationality and on the basis of conviction. Why should we, in suggesting the elimination of the existing Komsomol, not give a single thought to them? You listen to some Komsomol officials and you get the impression that our only salvation will be to raze everything to the ground and then....

Now it is very easy to create any young people's organization just on the basis of exposing the "sins" of the Komsomol as it exists now. And having listed them, to say: No such thing will exist in the new organization. And everyone will switch allegiance to the new "sinless" organization. "Sinless" only because it has not had a chance to do any work....

Let there be various young people's organizations and leagues. From anarchosyndicalist to "moderate progress within a legal framework," from ethnic youth leagues to organizations uniting young people along vocational lines. But why insist on totally forgetting those who, regardless of nationality and social status, share the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and wish to belong to the All-Union Komsomol? Let the most diverse young people's public organizations flower in full bloom. The only point is this: Why necessarily disband the Komsomol?

Georgian Conscripts Stage Protest Sit-in

AU0611182289 Paris AFP in English 1806 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 6 (AFP)—More than 500 Georgians are refusing to serve in the Soviet Red Army and are staging sit-ins in several towns in the southern republic, a nationalist leader said Monday.

Gueorgui Djincharadze of the Georgia National Independence Party said 251 of the young men had been protesting outside the sports centre in the capital Tbilisi since the end of October.

They refused to serve in an "occupying force" he said, and would only join an independent republican army.

The independence party is one of 10 nationalist groups in the republic which last month joined a National Salvation Committee to coordinate their actions.

They hope to win concessions from Georgia's Supreme Soviet or parliament which meets from November 17.

Ukrainian Catholics Occupy Lvov Orthodox Church

LD0511025789 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] A conflict continues unabated in the western Soviet city of Lvov between members of the Russian Orthodox Church and the unofficial Ukrainian Catholic Church. Catholic activists have invaded a major Orthodox shrine of the city, the Transfiguration Cathedral, and seem set to hold it. They are rumored to be planning an invasion of the Saint Yuriy Cathedral, the local bishop's residence, and several other churches. We have called on the phone the Lvov representative of the Council for Religious Affairs, (Yuriy Reshetilo), and here is what he told us:

(Yuriy Reshetilo) says the problem didn't emerge overnight. It dates back to 1946, when the activists of the Ukrainian Catholic, or Uniate, Church were outlawed. Since then, its members couldn't officially profess their faith. Today, the Ukrainian Catholic church claims to have a membership of about 5 million.

Since it is not officially registered, the authorities are reluctant to hand any buildings over to it. (Yuriy Reshetilo) believes a compromise must be reached for the Ukrainian Catholics to get, at least, a house of worship of their own.

That view is shared by the city authorities, but the issue can only be solved by top secular, and above all religious authorities. The people of Lvov want no further religious enmity, and they want the situation to be defused.

A recent rally following a peaceful procession of Russian Orthodox believers heard a joint appeal for peace and unity of the city residents, irrespective of their religious affiliation.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Examines Draft Laws

90UN0180A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent S. Dikora: "Sessions of Supreme Soviets of Union Republics: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic]

[Text] A session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic has begun its proceedings in Kiev. The deputies accepted for consideration the issues which have already been the subject of a lively discussion both at enterprises and in the families, both at street rallies and in the press for the last several months. Resolving these issues should influence considerably the future of the Ukraine because at issue are changes in spheres as fundamental as legal provisions for the reform of representative organs of state power in the republic, novelties in the elections of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputies and deputies of local soviets, and the adoption of the language law.

The receipt of 150,000 responses with constructive proposals for improving the draft laws submitted testifies to the mixed attitude of the populace of the Ukrainian SSR toward the draft laws. Nine alternative draft laws have been offered. However, the sharpest discussions centered on two versions, the official one, called the "apparatus" version, and the alternative one prepared by a group of the USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine.

This is why the draft laws which have been substantially reworked and added to had to be submitted to the current session. In particular, the statement on the congress of the Ukrainian SSR people's deputies was omitted and it was set forth that the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR is the supreme organ of power of the republic. Holding the elections of the Ukrainian SSR people's deputies directly by public organizations is not provided for. They retain only the right to nominate their candidate deputies for elections in territorial okrugs. One more fundamental novelty: No fewer than two candidates are submitted for registration at electoral okrugs; they may be nominated by collectives which number no fewer than 200 employees (earlier, no fewer than 300 was proposed).

The election of the president and chairmen of local soviets by a direct vote of the populace became an issue on which the working groups and commissions have still failed to find a compromise between the "official" and alternative variants of the law on elections. As was noted at the last meeting of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and in the Law on Languages, which was submitted with considerable additions, a number of articles require specification and coordination with other chapters of the draft.

The session will last 3 days. Over 100 USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine are attending the session in the capacity of guests.

Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet Opens

LD0311202889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] Supreme Soviet session today: A session of the Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet opened today. It is examining as its main issue the draft laws on amendments and addenda to the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic relating to elections of deputies to the supreme and local soviets. At the request of the Standing commission for the Protection of Nature and the Rational Use of Natural Resources, and of a group of deputies, the issue of halting the construction of the Tatarskaya Nuclear Power Station and its redesigantion has been put on the agenda of the session. An organizational matter has been dealt with: as a result of multicandidate elections, a chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Tatar ASSR has been appointed. He is (Mukhamat Galyamovich Sabirov), who had been working as a deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers. The session is to continue its work tomorrow.

Kazakh Supreme Soviet Removes Officials

LD0611103189 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Kazakh Socialist Soviet Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet has decreed to appoint comrade Erik Khristoforovich Gukasov first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers and to relieve him from his duties as first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers [as heard] and chairman of the Kazakh SSR State Agro-industrial Committee.

The President of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet has decreed to relieve comrade Bashmakov from his duties as first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, in connection with his transfer to another post.

CPSU Crime Commission Holds Session

PM0311153789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article entitled: "Sitting of CPSU Central Committee Legal Policy Commission"]

[Text] On 1 November the latest session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Issues of Legal Policy, at which the draft concept of the all-union program on the struggle against crime was discussed, took place under the chairmanship of B.K. Pugo, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the People's Control Committee attached to the CPSU Central Committee.

Representatives of the Committee on Issues of Legislation, Legality and Law and Order of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the temporary committee on the battle against crime, and the leaders of interested ministries and departments, public organizations, and scientific-research establishments took part in the work of the commission.

A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR procurator general, V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, and I.S. Samoshchenko, USSR first deputy minister of justice, gave reports. Then a constructive and all-around exchange of opinions took place. Here it was stressed that, in the conditions of perestroyka and the formation of a law-based socialist state, the strengthening of legality and the intensification of the battle against crime are among the most acute problems and among those which have great political significance. Their resolution demands a profound and all-embracing approach and the drawing-up of an integral, effective system of organizational, legal, economic, educative-preventive, and other special measures to counteract infringments of law and order, which should also comprise the main content of all-union program on the battle against crime which was elaborated in accordance with the directions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the decision of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The commission members noted that priority directions in this respect must be prevention of offences, provision for reliable protection of citizens' rights, lawful interests, and security from criminal infringements, protection of social order and socialist property, and strengthening of discipline. The program, as it was pointed out during the discussion, must be based on Leninist principles of lawfulness and the inevitability of responsibility for the offences committed, while strictly observing the principles of the presumption of innocence, rational humanism, and social justice.

The desirability was expressed of singling out two stages in the process of preparing and implementing the program: At the first stage, urgent measures must be developed, the implementation of which—already in the course of 1990—must ensure general improvement in the situation in the country and organizational, technical, material, and legal measures to prevent and effectively fight criminality. At the second stage, a long term, scientifically founded comprehensive program of measures must be determined, which is above all calculated for the 13th 5-Year Plan period and which ensures reliable protection of socialist society from criminal infringements. Many participants in the discussion of the draft concept spoke out in favor of the need to develop the legislative basis of the struggle against offences, in particular for the existing reconsideration of the norms of criminal, criminal-trial and corrective-labor legislation, for the renewal of the normative acts of laws enforcement bodies, and for bringing the entire judicial system into line with the modern conditions of our society's development and international agreements ratified by the USSR.

Moreover, the serious improvement of the mechanism for executing functioning laws lies ahead.

The opinion was expressed that an integral system for the moral education of Soviet people should be set up on the basis of a special law on the prevention of violations in the country and the drawing-up of appropriate republican, kray, and oblast all-embracing programs coordinated with plans for the socio-economic development of the regions.

In connection with this, the consistent resolution of issues for the improvement of practices and the legal regulation of the participation of the population, labor collectives, public organizations, and formations in the battle against crime is planned. As was noted, the problems of educative and mass cultural work among various categories of citizens must be reflected in the program. First and foremost, the forms and methods of the battle against drunkeness and alcoholism, drug addiction, parasitism, vagrancy, prostitution, and other social anomalies should be decisively reviewed. The proposal on the creation of a fund for the battle against crime in which enterprises, organizations, cooperatives, and citizens could take part was supported.

The speakers especially noted the importance of the adoption of cardinal measures directed towards the prevention of crime by minors and young people. The key link in introducing adolescents and young people to an active and socially useful life should be their involvement in labor activity and the formation of their world outlook and social value guidelines in the family, schools, and labor collectives. This will be served by drafting a law on youth and developing the material base to satisfy the sensible requirements of young people in various spheres of life. There will be a need to make purposeful efforts to overcome the negative influence on young people of manifestations of "culture" propagating violence, pornography, religious mysticism, and consumer psychology.

The participants in the meeting said that one of the key tasks is to raise the efficacy of the correction and re-education of convicted persons, and the creation of a state-cum-public system of social rehabilitation and firm guarantees for the employment of persons released from prisons and also other citizens who, by virtue of circumstances, are not working and are not studying.

The program should provide for the adoption of the most resolute measures to combat self-interested crime, particularly in the economy. This will require fully utilizing the potential of state, public, and financial supervision [kontrol], substantially strengthening the supervisory, auditing, and tax system, and radically improving their interaction with law-enforcement bodies for the purposes of enhancing the effectiveness of the fight against corruption, embezzlement, mismanagement, wastefulness, and various abuses.

The draft concept assigns a place of importance to comprehensive measures to combat organized crime on the basis of using new effective forms, methods, and operating techniques, as well as special technical facilities to expose and prove the unlawful activities of criminal communities and ensuring on these matters close cooperation of internal affairs, state security, and procuracy bodies.

The commission confirmed once more the urgent need to increase as much as possible the role of the courts and of lawyers in the system of socialist democracy; to consistently conduct criminal law policy directed at differentiation of punishment and at strengthening the educational significance of court cases.

The session participants noted the necessity of qualitatively increasing the efficiency of the operational and official activity of law-enforcement bodies through radical technical re-equipment in a way corresponding to the world practice of organizing the struggle against crime and of maintaining public order. The importance was stressed of creating in them the best possible organizational structures based on sound standards for staffing the corresponding categories of workers. Moreover, it is necessary to envisage measures for restructuring the system of selecting, training, deploying, and educating judge cadres and personnel of the bodies of the procuracy, justice, and internal affairs, for improving their material incentive and legal protection, and for increasing ideological and moral tempering. The role of the Union of USSR Lawyers should grow in this cause.

In order to avert violations of the law, ideological and educational measures involving broad use of the mass information media bear great significance. One should vary forms of moral and legal upbringing, introduce a juridical general education, provide the population with all kinds of legal assistance, and fully satisfy the demand for juridical literature.

The commission on the whole approved a draft concept of an all-union program on the struggle against crime. At the same time it was recommended that the central law and order ministries and departments, with the participation of scientific establishments, practical workers, and the broad juridical public, put the finishing touches to this document, taking into account remarks and additions which had been made.

The following took part in the discussion: S.V. Borodin, senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law; G.V. Kolbin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee; V.P. Mysnichenko, first secretary of Kharkov Ukrainian Communist Party Oblast Committee; F.D. Bobkov, first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB; A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Ye.A. Shulyak, forging and stamping worker at the Minsk Motor Vehicle Plant named for the 60th anniversary of Great October; I.I. Karpets, director of the USSR Prosecutor's Office All-Union Scientific Research Institute; D.A. Kerimov, department head at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee; V.M. Mishin, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions; S.N. Yepifantsev, secretary of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League Central Committee; N.A. Arestov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Academy; I.I. Prostyakov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development; A.S. Pavlov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State and Legal Department.

B.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee, made a brief winding-up speech.

Seeking of Scapegoats for Failings Criticized

PM3110142989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Valeriy Vyzhutovich "Publicist's Notes": "Burden of Decisions"]

[Text] Recently here and there people can be heard saying with increasing irritation: "Here—in the Ukraine, in Rostov-na-Donu, Tambov, Khabarovsk, Krasnodar Kray and so on—nothing has changed. What does Moscow think?"

That's how it is: In whatever city or rayon changes are not felt—Moscow is to blame.

Yes, to say that everything in our life is fine and has finally been transformed would clearly be premature. It is true that the economy is in crisis, the shelves are empty, and social tension is growing... And for many who are still in the grip of the old habit of looking for an enemy, the question is already on their lips: Who's to blame? Among the "culprits" are cooperative workers, economists, the press, informal groupings... And now Moscow as well—as the embodiment of central power. Everyone is criticizing the center now—the right and the left, conservatives and radicals, leaders of people's fronts and secretaries of oblast party committees. It is as if the reverence shown in the past had never existed. But is the criticism, which sometimes lacks tact and a sense of proportion, aimed at the wrong people?

Yes, renewal does not come at all easily to us. What gets in the way is adherence to the old forms of management which have been exhausted. What gets in the way is absence of legal awareness, and tolerance and respect for disagreement. What gets in the way is constant harking back to "principles," which are interpreted, as could be seen more than once, in quite a peculiar way. But to claim that we are allegedly are exerting ourselves at local level, that "we are straining at the leash," while Moscow is applying the brakes and holding things back, is incorrect, to put it mildly.

Let us ask ourselves a direct question: Where is perestroyka progressing most boldly, decisively, and vigorously—in the center or in the provinces? For every unbiased expert the answer is obvious. The local authorities (although, of course, there are exceptions) are giving their fellow-citizens everything but great success in the transformations, new approaches, and fresh ideas. By contrast the success in the search for culprits is noticeable. Let us recall the Zaporozhye party aktiv meeting held not so long ago at which many speakers, instead of giving a self-critical assessment of their work—for which, alas, there is considerable justification—started talking about the "danger" originating from the democratic movements, "excessive" glasnost, "slander," cooperative workers who had gone too far, and so on. All this, it was hinted unambiguously, is the result of permissiveness on the part of the central authority. And the speakers came to the conclusion that it is not they themselves who should restructure themselves in this manner, but the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It was stated thus: "It is very important now that the working class and the party help the general secretary to regain the quality of realism which was typical of him earlier in assessing political and socioeconomic processes and their development trends."

Of course, it is not a question that the head of the party and the state must be protected from criticism. Something else is at issue. In the numerous, increasing number of reproaches leveled at the center, the same helplessness familiar in former times, the same lack of independence, initiative, and original thought can be clearly seen... Before this was expressed by humble obedience and painstaking approval every time the leaders sneezed, whereas now it appears in the guise of "criticism." The essence nonetheless is the same as before: Give us, give us... Freeloading by the nomenklatura differs little from mass freeloading. Both expect miracles from heaven. Ordinary citizens expect it in the form of immediate abundance. Those invested with authority at rayon and city level, in the form of central directives and prescriptions.

But there is no such thing as a miracle. And nothing good will occur until people clearly realize that it is time to take up the burden of decisionmaking. Not to wait to be told, not to weigh down matters with cumbersome, entirely unnecessary agreements with the central authorities about each step taken. Not to complain about lack of guidance from the leaders. And not to look for culprits, for nothing is more futile or easier to do.

Letters Debate Declining Party Morale

90UN0199A Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Oct 89 p 2

[Collection of letters under title "Whom Has Avant-garde Fallen Behind?"]

[Text] "Let Us Talk Openly" was the title of an open letter published on 22 August. It was written by E. Kushnarev, chief of the organization sector of the Kharkov City Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, and addressed to O. Kazarov, a secretary of the Ulyanovsk Oblast Committee of the CPSU, who wrote the article "Whom Has Avant-garde Fallen Behind?" published on 5 August. After that, the flow of "open letters" to O. Kazarov swelled with the added letters for E. Kushnarev. Today, we publish more comments to continue the discussion.

Pluralism of Opinions, Not Insults

Dear Comrade Kushnarev,

First, I totally disagree with the opinion that O. Kazarov adheres to the "principles" of Nina Andreyeva. He also does not express the ideas of those in the bureaucracy who, as you think, consider it easier and more appealing to turn back than to continue ahead on the road of democratization and glasnost. Yours is a strange understanding of glasnost and pluralism of opinions. You declare yourself an advocate of communists' pluralism of opinions and immediately blast O. Kazarov because his views are different from yours. You also employ a method that is as old as the hills: Smear the reputation of your opponent without getting into the depth of his arguments. And why try to disprove them? After your letter, it will take a long time for O. Kazarov to peel off the labels you have stuck on him. Who is going to listen to his reasons meanwhile, or, more so, try to get to the gist of them? Pardon my being so straightforward, but such methods are not worthy of a communist of any rank.

Second, the article expresses sincere concern for the fate and respectability of our party. And many, not so high-ranking, communists are grateful to O. Kazarov for the long-awaited publication that helped repulse some unjust assaults on the party. Yes, the party has fallen behind now! However, it is not lagging behind the processes that are taking place in our society, but behind the party's own expanded plans for the fundamental restructuring of the society, and definitely not behind some "informal" groups. Or, maybe you identify the party with a certain group of party officials who are really falling behind the processes that are taking place in society? That can explain a lot in your letter. But did you decide that at this given stage of history the CPSU does not express the interests of the major part of society anymore?

It is paradoxical that the view you expressed about further democratization of the party, about doing away with the red tape in management, about increasing the importance of primary organizations—all that is in total agreement with the conclusions one can draw from the article by O. Kazarov. They are radical to the same degree and they also have identical goals. So why declare O. Kazarov the enemy of perestroyka? Isn't it time to give up the obsolete method of defaming those who have different ideas?

V. Kosintsev, instructor for the ideology sector of the Komsomolsk rayon committee of the CPSU. Togliatti, Kuibyshev Oblast

Openly Means Openly

I would like to tell E. Kushnarev that you cannot discuss an article by your party comrade in such a spirit.

If one has to judge by your Kharkov examples, nomination of the delegates to the 19th Party Conference and of people's deputies of the USSR especially, was going along similar lines pretty much everywhere. And that means that you and I both saw it all, knew it all, understood it all—and did not say anything.

I cannot vouch for you, of course, but I can say about myself that that's the way it was, if one has to speak openly. Neither you nor I expressed any real indignation to anyone. You declare that your views are different from those of Kazarov, but to me it seems that you are trying to ascribe to him conclusions that are alien, unacceptable, and unfitting for his article.

Can one find in it "total confidence that everything is normal with the party and there is no reason for concern?" One can see quite the opposite: pain and anxiety.

Probably we need to give the people who are in the public view an opportunity to work normally, now especially so, when they are pulling the cart and the majority of people around are just cracking the whip or criticizing them.

V. Gorokh, chief of the organization sector of the Dneprovsk rayon committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Dneprodzerzhinsk

And That's Why We Boo

Dear Comrade Kazarov,

You are asking: Whom the avant-garde has fallen behind? I don't think it has. It continues on its old way. Here is a recent instance of that. Our Dnepropetrovsk TV set up a meeting with people' deputies. They discussed many sore points. They also talked about the fact that the most magnificent cottage-type dachas are being built in the most picturesque areas of our region, on the Dnepropetrovsk islands. And that happens in spite of anyone or anything, in spite of the most deplorable and disastrous state of residential construction, building of cultural projects, and of a maternity hospital, the deadlines for the construction of which have long since passed.

I cannot be certain who or what has delivered the country to its present level. But for 55 years of my life they kept hammering into my head the idea that the avant-garde was leading us to the glorious future. But by now the "glorious future" has lost all of its sheen.

You are saying that the pace should be set not by those who see nothing but problems, but by those who know how to solve them. You personally, do you know how to do it? There is a lot of criticism in your article but no concrete proposals.

I could have answered your letter point by point. You, of course, made your opinion known to the whole country, mine would probably end up in a wastebasket. I was mad because I had to plead with a crook, i.e. store manager, to sell me butter at 4 rubles 50 kopecks a kilo. I could not get any soap. Apart from the fact that I have no boots to wear in the winter and my summer shoes are falling apart. And then I got into an awful crush in the bus. And a lot of other things. And that's why we boo. E.A. Volkova, Dnepropetrovsk

Komsomol Central Committee Pre-Congress Statement

90UN0196A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 89 p 1

[Policy Statement of the Komsomol Central Committee prior to the 21st Komsomol Congress]

[Text] The Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee delivers this statement to Komsomol members and young people during an extremely complicated period for the country. The democratic renewal which has aroused such human expectations and has evoked among the people a sincere and intense response is being tested today for its endurance. We see crisis phenomena. Economic reform is being interrupted. The population's standard of living is decreasing. Interethnic relations have been aggravated to the limit.

The Komsomol finds itself in the grip of crisis as well. We see a noticeable decline in its influence on youth and its role in society. This is manifest not only in the antiquated forms and methods of its operation, but in the rejection of many meaningful values as well.

The Komsomol's present situation is no chance occurrence. It is the consequence of the overall deformation of socialism in the USSR, of all its state and social structures. Society is today experiencing an agonizing reevaluation of the past. New concepts are being born—of the democratic state, of communist ideals and the means of achieving them. All this is necessary primarily to our youth, for there remains a historical chance for a viable future.

Yes, the Komsomol has not been living in a vacuum. Along with the entire country it has traveled along a path with periods in which the human spirit soared, and periods in which it suffered tragic, completely unprovoked attacks.

The absence of true independence—for self-organization, in thought and action—embroiled our union in the campaign for administrative-command socialism and failed to deliver the country to the domain of civilized relations. The enlightenment was painful. The problem with the Komsomol was that it was unable, under those conditions, to find the strength within itself to actively oppose the course of events and, as a political organization, it bears its share of responsibility for what occurred in society.

But Do We Have a Right to Turn Away From Our Past?

Our predecessors left a record of achievements and errors. We, the generation of Komsomol members of the 1980's, can handle them in a variety of ways. We can repudiate them entirely. But in that case we risk being deprived of continuity and falling into new mistakes—belief in the indisputability and absoluteness of our own knowledge has destroyed quite a number of good ideas. Or we can critically and creatively assimilate this experience and establish a renovated communist youth organization. We choose the second path and acquire at the same time a new understanding of prospects for movement.

What Kind of Komsomol Do We Need?

Our union is a communist one. The name and designation of Lenin is for us not just an official title that can be changed as soon as the political situation changes. The objective reality is such that social thought has not yet created a more attractive idea than that of communism.

This concept has raised the consciousness of the masses, inspired a search for social thought and movement in it. In the hands of immoral politicians it became a "truncheon," or a lead bullet for unorthodox thinkers.

We understand communism not as the final stop on a journey, not as the shape of an illusory future, but as movement forward—towards a humane, democratic, and just society in which "the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all." Participation in the creation of such a society is the highest aim of our organization.

The Komsomol Central Committee sees the Komsomol as a voluntary, independent, sociopolitical organization which is consistently developing intra-league democracy.

Remaining united, the Komsomol should have a flexible structure determined by the priorities of the primary organization, comprising the political and organizational basis of the league. We are fighting for unity in implementing the Komsomol's overall political policy, while providing maximum independence of Komsomol organizations in the selection of work forms and methods. The major questions of Komsomol activity should be resolved with the participation of all Komsomol members and should include union-wide referendums. Recognizing the right of final decisionmaking for the majority, we advocate respect for and protection of the interests of majority and minority alike, and support the right of the minority to defend their point of view.

The Komsomol Central Committee advocates precise delineation of the competence of center and local area, at the basis of which lie the powers delegated by lower-standing Komsomol organizations.

Fundamental change in the functioning of the apparatus and its complete subordination to elected organs, an open and competitive approach to elections of secretaries of Komsomol committees and organs at all levels—these are necessary conditions for debureaucratizing the Komsomol.

The Komsomol's financial management activity is in need of radical change. Our league has certain financial capabilities at its disposal. But "Komsomol economics" is not an end in itself. We determine the correlation between policy and economics in the Komsomol proceeding from prioritized political interests. The most important thing is to create conditions for revealing the capabilities of each individual in our youth league, for effecting full-scale activity of the primary organizations.

We advocate expanding the channels in which the Komsomol can use its financial resources. We support the provision of direct financial aid to Komsomol members, young families, juveniles, and children. Formulation of the Komsomol budget from bottom to top, open and visible supervision of all financial management activity—this is the standard for intra-Komsomol life.

Only the Komsomol members themselves will be able to make their organization a necessary and beneficial entity, a renovated society. The way time was spent following the 20th Komsomol Congress provides justification for this conclusion. Political clubs, the broad ecological and interethnic movement, and many other social initiatives of Komsomol members have unveiled a rich potential that could not be employed during the years of Stalinism and stagnation. A great many ideas have arisen for the Komsomol's prospective development, many of them fruitful. The most important power of renewal in the Komsomol is we ourselves. If we learn to conduct matters in such a way that the Komsomol member can count on the support of his league and where he himself actively supports the league—organization will be consolidated. If we do not learn this, the outcome is evident.

Our Priorities in Society

Today when the fate of our country is being decided, many things can determine our political choices:

We resolutely advocate further movement of the country along the path of democratic transformation. We will exercise our right of legislative and political initiative, propose our own versions of solutions to social problems, and achieve their implementation by the organs of authority.

The Komsomol Central Committee advocates transfer of the entirety of state authority to the soviets of people's deputies. It supports a democratic mechanism for drawing up the new USSR Constitution and the adoption of laws based on public opinion, taking into account the constructive proposals of alternative draft versions.

We call upon Komsomol organizations and upon all Komsomol members to actively participate in the elections of people's deputies, to support and nominate to the soviets candidates capable of fighting for the fundamental interests of the young generation independent of party or social membership.

We will attain the maximum possible representation of our youth on a competitive, democratic basis in the soviets and the organs of social self-government.

We are alarmed at the exacerbation of interethnic relations in our society. Youth is always situated at the epicenter of ethnic strife. We want all the peoples who inhabit our common home to live in peace and friendship. The Komsomol will therefore work on creating a political mechanism capable of protecting ethnic dignity and ensuring a genuine equality among all nations and peoples in the country, will foster the development of ethnic culture, schools, and language. We advocate the harmonization of interethnic relations within the framework of the Soviet federation, the urgent elimination of the political, economic, and social consequences of the Stalinist nationalities policy.

Through its activity, the Komsomol is facilitating consolidation of the unity of the army and people, the formation of high moral and physical qualities, and strong will in our youth, a readiness to defend their Fatherland. We support the international principle of forming the armed forces and determining the duty stations of recruits, proceeding from consideration of the defense-capacity interests of the country.

We consider it impermissible to deploy the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of other states without discussion in the country's highest organ or to use the armed forces contrary to the peaceful will of our people.

In the Armed Forces, the Komsomol is directing its efforts towards social protection of army youth, enhancement of its socio-political activity in the interests of combat readiness, and consolidation of military discipline.

We advocate widespread discussion of the problems of social development, legal guarantees of freedom of speech, assembly, demonstration, and free exchange of information. We will be included in the process of renewal of creative development of the socialist concept.

The Komsomol supports organizational diversity for our youth, spontaneous movements and associations, the creation of organizations and federations on a socialist platform.

With regard to its activity in the economic and social sphere, the Komsomol proceeds from the interests common to all the people. A state youth policy is required equally for youth and for all of society. It is for just this reason that we advocate adoption of the law "On Universal Principles of State Youth Policy in the USSR," and effective participation by the Komsomol in its implementation.

The Komsomol will protect the economic interests of young workers in industry. They must not only have a guaranteed right to work, but a guarantee of equal pay for equal work, and the opportunity to take advantage of social benefits on an equal basis with other citizens. Through the results of his labor, a young worker must have the ability to secure a standard of living for himself and his family commensurate with our period of civilization.

We will fight for consistent realization of fundamental economic reform.

The transition to new industrial-production relationships is always a painful process, replete with conflict, and affecting the interests of tremendous numbers of people. But we understand that there is today no other way for a country that wants to escape economic crisis and enhance the well-being of its people. We therefore advocate the free and equal development of diverse forms of ownership, without exploiting our work force or alienating the individual from the means of production and the results of his labor. The personal interest of the laborer, the collective interest of enterprise workers—and not slogans—are capable of effecting decisive change in our economic situation and, therefore, in the situation of our youth in society. Using its financial resources among other means, the Komsomol will assist in the professional development of young workers and specialists, open schools for young production managers, and take part in the development of progressive forms of labor organization, especially in the village. The key to resolving our most acute social problem lies in extending complete independence to the peasants in selecting their forms of management and association.

We advocate unification of all our creative youth potential around the concept of creating a future society with a highly efficient economy oriented on man.

The Komsomol is working to achieve a fundamental improvement in the overall ecological situation of the country. We do not wish to live in debt to future generations and will therefore take part in natural resource protection measures, cooperate with all associations in protecting the environment, fight against activity which brings harm to nature. We must have an active, humane relationship with nature.

A renovated society is a society of high consciousness, high spirituality and morality, respect for the cultural traditions established by mankind.

The Komsomol advocates a restructuring of the system of education on principles of democratization and humanization, based on broad student participation in the administration of educational institutions.

The Komsomol will facilitate creation of favorable conditions for organizing the intellectual potential of society, achieving a blossoming of all forms of creativity, identifying and developing talents, and supporting socially meaningful initiatives of individuals and spontaneous associations.

We advocate the establishment of industrious utilization of children's and young people's leisure time, the development of a system of public services.

We support freedom of conscience and cooperation with our youth who belong to various religious organizations in philanthropic activity, in the struggle for peace, in propagandizing a healthy life style and moral values for mankind.

Without proclaiming ready-made truisms, we are convinced that our moral values should not further break off from the simple, everyday moral laws that are universal to all mankind.

The Komsomol advocates the reestablishment of historical truth and is assisting in the preservation of historical and cultural monuments. It is involved in immortalizing the memory of those who gave their lives in the performance of their military and civic duty, of victims of the mass repressions of the 1930's-1950's.

In the sphere of interethnic cooperation, the Komsomol bases its activity on principles of the new political thinking. We advocate the development of broad ties and contacts with youth organizations of diverse political orientation in the name of attaining the high goals of constructing a non-nuclear, non-violent world, of achieving democratization and humanization in international relations.

On the V.I. Lenin All-Union Organization of Pioneers

The Komsomol wants to see the organization of pioneers become a genuinely humane, democratic, voluntary, initiative-oriented, and self-managed sociopolitical organization of children and juveniles, and of their adult friends, a true school to bring about civic and moral growth of the young personality. It is our most important job to assist in restructuring the organization of pioneers.

The Komsomol will work to achieve adoption of the Law on Protection of the Rights of Children, Juveniles, and Their Organizations, and will fight for the interests of the young citizens of our country.

The Party and the Komsomol

Preserving and strengthening its ideological ties with the party, the Komsomol conducts its activities proceeding from the strategic CPSU aim of effecting perestroyka in Soviet society on the basis of creatively developed Marxist-Leninist teachings.

At the same time, we advocate a rejuvenation of mutual relations between the Komsomol and CPSU. Blind copying of organizational structure, of work forms and methods is one of the reasons the Komsomol—especially its cadre and apparatus—have become detached from the interests of our youth. We need mutual ties between party and Komsomol which are built on complete trust, comradely criticism, and the political support of one another's activity.

We advocate mutual respect, mutual influence, and mutual interaction of our communist organizations. The Komsomol Central Committee believes that party renewal is an extremely important condition for producing changes in the Komsomol and resolutely supports the further development of intra-party democracy.

Economic

Economic Reform Blueprint Published

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[Proposals of the organizational committee of the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference on Problems of Radical Economic Reform: "Radical Economic Reform: Priority and Long-Term Measures (Material for Discussion)"]

[Text] *Radical economic reform, the result of which is to be a new viable economic system and a healthy economy, is a decisive factor for the success of perestroyka.*

What are the lessons of the stage of economic reform which is behind us? In what direction is it to develop further? What are the strategic goals and tactical tasks on the path which lies ahead? These and other key questions for the success of the restructuring of the economy have been submitted for discussion at an all-union scientific-practical conference on problems of radical economic reform. It will be conducted by the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy from 30 October through 1 November 1989 in Moscow. In offering for our readers' attention the set of priority and long-term measures pertaining to realization of the ideas and principles of radical economic reform prepared for discussion by the conference's organizational committee, we are hoping for a continuation of the discussion being conducted in EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA on the paths of further development of the Soviet economy.

Radical economic reform is a decisive factor for the success of perestroyka, the core thereof. But it is in the economy that after 4 years of strenuous efforts, the anticipated improvement has not occurred. The situation continues to deteriorate. People's unease is growing, and extremists of left and right are prepared to avail themselves of it.

For this reason it is necessary to comprehend once again the concept of the reform, its goals and the progress of implementation, and formulate specific and realistic measures to pull the economy out of the state of crisis.

Ultimate Purpose

The ultimate purpose of radical economic reform is a healthy economy capable of providing for the high efficiency of production, the people's well-being at the level of modern living standards, social justice, and the solution of the most serious environmental problems. Only in this case might we speak of the completion of perestroyka and the success of the reform. Only in this case will the prerequisites for the development of Soviet society under the conditions of freedom and democracy have been created. Only in this case may the ideals and values of socialism be firmly established.

Achievement of the purpose requires an economic system which, first, creates effective incentives for labor and enterprise combined with high organization and discipline and, second, provides for the efficient coordination of the activity of all participants in social production lest their energy and resources be squandered to no purpose and in order that each person produce what is needed by society, employing the resources which produce the greatest results.

Taking as a basis the concept of socialism at which V.I. Lenin arrived in the last years of his life on the basis of an analysis of the living practice of the revolution and the NEP [New Economic Policy], the experience of the socialist and other countries, and the experience of our perestroyka and long scientific research, the basic features of a model of a new economic system within the framework of the socialist option may be determined.

First—the diversity of forms of social ownership and their equality and competition as the fundamental basis of the citizens' economic liberty affording them an opportunity to make the best use of their capabilities and creating strong personal and collective economic motivation.

The diversity of forms of ownership is not a transitional, but the normal condition of the socialist economy. It affords an opportunity for an end to the working people's alienation from the means of production, power, and participation in the management of economic affairs. Life itself and initiative from below have put forward the task of the consistent destatization of ownership and the development of such forms thereof as leasing and the cooperative system, peasant farm ownership, joint-stock companies, and other economic associations. They make it possible to realize most consistently the principles of full economic accountability, economic responsibility, self-financing, and self-management. Each form should be employed where it is in keeping with the actual level of socialization of the production process and contributes to the highest efficiency.

Only an updating of property relations will lead to a solution of a key question which has yet to be duly answered in the socialist economy—the molding of the long-term interest of the enterprises and their workers in the optimum proportions of consumption and savings and the renewal and build-up of production potential.

For this it is necessary to abandon the dogma of socialism's incompatibility with income derived from property. Historical experience has shown that it should be approached in the same way as money, profit, the market, and other forms which are of general-economic content and may serve different social modes of production. Without them it is difficult to create incentives to savings and the increased efficiency of capital investments and ensuring the balance of the consumer market.

At the same time the income derived from property in its socialized forms such as interest on deposits and bonds, dividends, income from share and several accumulation, and contributions to insurance, pension, and investment funds lend themselves to effective state regulation, which makes it possible to rule out a socially unacceptable increase in income not directly connected with work and man's exploitation of man.

Second—the labor basis of ownership, production, and distribution is earning, not sharing! The labor contribution to the overall results is the principal yardstick of consumption. The basis of the administrative-command system is confiscation from the enterprises of what they have produced in order to distribute. They are thereby put in a position where it is profitable to produce as little as possible and to obtain as much as possible: Not earn but shake loose for oneself at the share-out. Priority for labor in words, for distribution in practice. This is the essence of dependent economic thinking.

The new economic system should turn the economy up side down, and everyone must perceive for himself that it is only possible to consume what has been earned by labor and to share what has been produced.

Third—use of the market as the principal form of coordination of the activity of the participants in social production. We have been able to persuade ourselves on the basis of our own experience that there is no fitting alternative to the market mechanism as a method of coordinating the actions and interests of managing subjects. It is this which is the most democratic form of the regulation of economic activity. The attempt to build the economy based on the contrast of plan and market led to the administrative-command system of management of the economy inevitably engendering bureaucratism and lack of responsibility leading to the squandering of material resources and the undermining of labor and economic activity.

Providing for the independence and economic responsibility of the managing subjects, the diversity of forms of ownership creates prerequisites for the normal functioning of the market mechanism. But stopping half-way in the formation of the market mechanism is not possible: It is capable of efficiently performing its functions only given free prices and economic competition. The plan-oriented regulation of the market is necessary, but it must be exercised not in defiance of its laws, but on the basis thereof.

A most important component of the market mechanism is the financial market (securities market), which provides for the mobility of social resources and their rapid movement to the spheres of the most effective application and stimulates savings and scientific-technical progress.

It is essential to also recognize the manpower market under socialism. It has always existed in practice, exerting a considerable influence on the level of remuneration. The endeavor to regulate the movement of labor resources and the level and degree of income differentiation by administrative methods has led merely to a limitation of personal liberties and wage-leveling in distribution and has prevented each working person from choosing the sphere of the best application of his capabilities.

At the same time the manpower market under socialist conditions will be economically limited both by the system of various social safeguards and state protection of the rights of the working people and the extensive application of forms of collective property, which are characterized by relations of membership and co-ownership, and not hire.

Fourth—a developed system of social safeguards designed to ensure various opportunities for all citizens for harmonious development and the full-fledged use of their capabilities; a decent life for disabled members of society; an improvement in the environment, health protection, and the development of education, science, and culture. All this provides for the consistent implementation of the principles of humanism and social justice.

An important feature of the new socialist economic system is the balance of economic efficiency and social justice. The model of the socialist economy which has been realized has proceeded from the theoretical premise that social justice expressed in the principles of public ownership and the elimination of man's exploitation of man and distribution according to labor would ensure economic efficiency of their own accord. Experience has shown the impracticability of such an approach. The contradiction between economic efficiency and social justice is objective. The dialectic is such that society may all the more permit itself to be just the more efficiently its economy operates. But at the same time social justice and humaneness are at times more profitable than an arid accounting of outlays and benefits.

Fifth—the plan-oriented state regulation of the economy based on forward economic and social planning and the realization of plans by means of: The direct management of state (union, republic, and communal) enterprises and natural resources and property belonging to the state; the placement on a competitive and contractual basis of state orders state investments and subsidies; price control; taxes, tax breaks, and financial penalties;

control of the money supply and credit investments with the aid of bank interest rates, reserving quotas, currency rates and other methods; the use of state commodity reserves for stabilization of the market and prices; legislative regulation of economic activity, specifically for forestalling monopoly operations, encouraging healthy competition, and for consumer and environmental protection.

The development of a system of social support of the population and the formation and implementation of the pertinent programs will remain a most important task of the state.

Nonstate economic structures and democratic public institutions—consumer societies, manufacturer associations, and environmental, scientific-technical, and other public organizations—will play an increasingly large part together with the state in the control of economic and social processes.

Such are the principal features of the new economic system. Time and experience will modify and enrich our ideas about it.

However, it may even now be said that in conforming to the principles of socialism it will differ fundamentally from the administrative-command principle. It is not a question of an upgrading of the evolved management mechanism, not of the replacement of individual obsolete parts therein. One system, inherently logical and integral, must be dismantled and replaced by another, also logical and integral, but for this very reason incompatible with it. Whence the radical nature of the economic reform and the inevitable difficulties associated with its implementation.

The Path Thus Far

The past 4 years have been exceptionally dynamic from the viewpoint of recognition of the basic regularities of the radical reforms inaugurated by the party pertaining to the renovation of society and their depth and complexity. It is this, primarily, which explains the inconsistency of the adopted decisions and the disregard for such questions, for example, as finances and monetary circulation and the hopes placed in the power of command methods of administration.

A critical evaluation of the path thus far makes it possible to distinguish therein several phases which have led, finally, to an understanding of the need for an uncompromising dismantling of the command-administrative system.

1985-1986. The main emphasis was placed on scientific-technical progress. It was believed that it was possible to change negative tendencies and achieve an appreciable acceleration while preserving in the principal respects the former economic system, but having modernized mechanical engineering and having retooled the economy on this basis. All this combined with the appeal for a "stimulation of the human factor" was to have secured quite rapidly the growth of the production of high-grade commodities, emergence onto the world market, and an appreciable improvement in the Soviet people's life.

An increase in economic incentives was intended also. Economic experiments were conducted which vied with one another, and new management methods were introduced. They were all, however, typical of the economic reformations of the model of the mid-1960's or the end of the 1970's when the main thing was seen as a change in value indicators and methods of the formation of funds at the enterprises. Measures characteristic of centralized administration were implemented more decisively: VPO's [all- union production associations] were eliminated, the structure of the ministry machinery was changed, Agroprom [Agro-Industrial Committee] was formed, Gosstroy [State Committee for Construction] was reorganized.....

The fundamental impossibility of the creation of effective economic incentives under the conditions of the current and increasingly "heavy" production structure and the management system which was tied tightly to it was not taken into consideration at that time. It is not surprising that the set task of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development proved unattainable.

1987-1988. An understanding of the need for more serious changes in the economy and recognition of the limited nature of the technocratic and command approaches required the elaboration and adoption of a concept of a fundamental restructuring of the management of the economy and a new approach to personnel policy.

This was a tremendous step forward toward comprehensive restructuring in the economy. Putting at the center of the concept a broadening of the rights and the increased economic responsibility of the principal commodity producer—the socialist enterprise—the measures mapped out by the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum provided for changes in planning, material- technical supply, pricing, and the finance and credit mechanism and also in the organizational structures of management.

However, a distinctive feature of the decisions which were adopted was their half-baked nature and the compromise between the ideas which had taken shape in society concerning the principles of the socialist system of management and the objectively necessary new approaches.

This was manifested most strikingly in the State Enterprise (Association) Act. Its practical realization very quickly revealed the intrinsic contradictions and just-for-effect nature of many of the provisions contained in its content. In addition, it was thus also not possible to create a fundamentally new economic environment, and some changes in planning were unable to compensate for the would-be financial recovery and the shortcomings of the former pricing system. Administrative methods of the control of economic activity were weakened appreciably; economic ones, however, were absent. This led to serious distortions in production, an increase in the deficit and imbalance. Nonetheless, the conclusions concerning the increased destabilization of the economy were not drawn. The 12th 5-Year Plan remained unchanged.

An attempt was made, it is true, to radically move ahead: The Cooperative System Act led to the development of a new sector in the economy. However, there was no real economic success. The experience of the development of the cooperative movement showed convincingly that under the conditions of the practically total statization of all economic institutions and the functioning of the administrative system of management of the economy as a whole, any other economic model based on different principles would necessarily be rejected or would willy-nilly become criminal. The cooperative system was discredited in public opinion.

The situation which took shape was the result not only of persistent stereotypes of the administrative-command system at all levels. The main thing was contained in the conclusion of the 19th All-Union Party Conference to the effect that the implementation of radical economic reform and the renovation of all aspects of the life of Soviet society are impossible without democratization and a change in the political system.

1989. Confirming this conclusion, the Congress of People's Deputies initiated political reform. A qualitatively new stage of the restructuring of the economy began.

At the present time we are experiencing an extremely difficult moment thereof: The politicization of the masses which is actively underway is out pacing actual transformations in the economic and political structures. It is particularly important to accurately adjust the course under these conditions.

Alternatives for the Transitional Period

The very crucial and critical nature of the current situation is the fact that today we face a choice. Various paths of further progress variously influencing the fate of the country are possible. Behind each of them are particular social forces. It is a question of ensuring that while creating the illusion of progress, the path chosen not lead to impasse.

Generally, the most difficult problem of any reform is how to effect the transition to the new economic system. For us the choice is largely predetermined by the current economic and sociopolitical situation and grim legacy of the past. These mean the profound disproportions in the economy, the preponderance of large monopoly producers, the utmost disarray of finances and the monetary system, the inadequate training of personnel, and the devotion of large groups of working people to wage-leveling in distribution. To these factors new ones have now been added. The imbalance of the economy has intensified, the situation on the consumer market has deteriorated noticeably, the population's mistrust of the policy of the state has grown, and outbreaks of speculative demand have become more frequent. The disenchantment of significant strata of the working people with the effectiveness of the reform has brought about a growth of sociopolitical tension.

In this tense situation a choice has to be made. However, whatever it be, we must know that there are simply no quick and easy ways to success. Although any version of actions pertaining to the further implementation of the reform is attended by the need to implement a number of unpopular and painful measures which could increase the tension in society even more, it is important not to succumb to current-moment opportunist sentiments.

Nor can we fail to see a version which is alternative to the economic reform as a whole: The market is unnecessary, intensification of administrative measures, shutdown of the cooperatives, prohibition of price increases, and so forth. In the current serious situation such a program, granted all its economic groundlessness, is meeting with support among certain working people prompted by demagogic slogans. It should be said with all certainty: We are talking about a position which would once again throw us far back without having solved a single problem. There is no practicable alternative to reform. The choice on this issue has been made!

But to speak of versions of implementation of the reform, any of them will incorporate a number of common measures: Those pertaining to the financial recovery of the economy; its large-scale structural reorganization for the purpose of an increase in the production of consumer goods and services; cardinal changes in ownership relations.

The seriousness of the situation which is taking shape demands the implementation of special measures. We may put in this category the reduction in the budget deficit which has already begun, a significant reduction in the amount of centralized industrial capital investments, and measures to limit the unwarranted growth of income and increase the production of consumer goods. However, the scale of the efforts is manifestly inadequate.

It is possible to proceed in two ways in the choice of additional such measures: Either to put the emphasis on administrative methods (an increase in the extent of mandatory commissions and a broadening of the sphere of the quota's allocation of material resources and consumer goods) or give preference to economic methods, primarily in the financial and credit and monetary spheres. There is no doubt that both economic measures and the preservation of certain administrative measures will be required in the immediate future. However, well-conceived economic measures, even if they are painful and encounter considerable resistance, will lead more quickly to a way out of the crisis.

Three versions of strategy are advanced for the future realization of economic reform.

Version I—conservative, based on a strategy of gradual "growth" into the new economic system. Urgent tasks are tackled by methods which, although minimizing the immediate negative consequences of the measures adopted and permitting the avoidance of potential conflicts, fail to take into consideration the long term of reform. Special measures are for this reason of a predominantly prohibitive, administrative nature: Price freeze, limitation of the activity of the cooperatives, struggle against the diktat of the manufacturers by way of prohibitions on a reduction in the production volume, denial of contracts, and so forth.

The pace of financial recovery is held back lest it harm weak enterprises which are operating inadequately. The transition of state enterprises to different forms of ownership proceeds slowly, with the consent of the administrative authorities.

It is assumed that saturation of the consumer market is possible thanks to an increase in the production of goods and services, given stable prices. A reduction in the volume of state orders and the centralized distribution of products and, consequently, formation of the market are deferred until the first tangible successes of financial recovery and the reorganization of the structure of production.

The merit of this version is that the enterprises, the population, and the administrative authorities are afforded an opportunity to adapt gradually to the changing conditions. But the old here finds ways of accommodating itself to the new forms, which are being introduced gradually, and the counteractive forces have time for consolidation. There is a great likelihood of current, local concerns gaining the ascendancy over strategic goals. In addition, the essential duration of the restructuring state of the economy signifies a need for lengthy reconciliation with all the inconveniences of the "house under repair." But, after all, a system lacking wholeness cannot be efficient. Realization of the anticipated results of the reform is deferred for a considerable period of time.

Stretching out serious measures pertaining to the formation of the market is justified by the endeavor to avoid the social tension associated with price increases. However, what is most dangerous is the fact that the anticipated improvement may not in this version come at all inasmuch as the holding back of prices and incomes weakens economic incentives even further, thereby prompting recession and an increase in the deficit. It is difficult expecting fulfillment of the high plan outlines pertaining to an increase in the manufacture of consumer goods insofar as they fail to take enterprises' actual possibilities properly into account.

Version II—radical—presupposes a profound and abrupt break, concentrated in a short segment of time, with all evolved structures and the simultaneous lifting of all restrictions from the market without preliminary preparation of a system of its state regulation. The start-up of a market mechanism is linked with the complete or virtually complete abandonment of price and income control, given strict measures to reduce state spending and limit the amount of money in circulation.

By way of a mass campaign state enterprises switch to leasing and are converted into joint-stock companies, cooperatives and public enterprises. The ministries are eliminated. State orders are placed only on a contractual basis and financed from the budget.

It is a question, consequently, of switching in short order in a set of one-time measures to the new economic system and obtaining the anticipated results therefrom as soon as possible.

However, a favorable outcome cannot be considered the most likely. Nor can lengthy stagnation in the economy with serious sociopolitical upheavals brought about by the shortcomings of this version be precluded. The most essential of them are prolonged galloping inflation, which hits the consumer hard, affording the manufacturers an opportunity, without increasing production, to increase their income thanks to price rises and changes in the selection. The ruin of a large number of enterprises and the disruption of evolved economic relationships are possible. A considerable recession and mass unemployment and a drop in the living standard, given the considerable income differentiation of different groups of the population, could be the consequence.

Version III—radical-moderate. The essence thereof is imparting a powerful boost in a set of large-scale one-time measures to the formation of the market and straight away creating a mechanism for controlling this process. Preparation is necessary, understandably, but no more than a year may be allotted it. A program pertaining to the strengthening and development of the new economic system is subsequently implemented consistently. Its chief component is the stage-by-stage lifting of price control supplemented by the effect of a strong system of social support of the population, which in the preparatory period even is to provide for the linkage of the dynamics of income and prices.

The set of reforms implemented isochronally includes the commissioning of a package of laws transforming ownership relations and the tax and credit system; reform of remuneration; reform of social security, restructuring of job placement, and the introduction of unemployment benefit and fixed income indexing with regard for the increase in the cost of living; the start of a reform of pricing and the introduction of a system of fixed, controlled, and free prices; a restructuring of planning and material-technical production support.

In the wake of this the state will gain an opportunity to control the processes of restructuring in the economy, using a combination of a flexible prices and incomes policy, state orders and quotas, and financial and credit levers. It is possible by maneuvering prices and incomes to maintain production incentives and avoid undue tension in society. If this leads to an increase in the rate of inflation, strict financial measures and a limitation of credit and the money supply are set in motion. This is the essence of a policy of controlled inflation. This is currently the lesser evil making it possible to avoid far greater damage and move toward the goal.

Thus this version, permitting a controlled growth of prices and incomes, makes it possible to halt the growth of the deficit and recession and opens a real path toward formation of the market. **The one-time implementation of a set of large-scale, well-prepared and coordinated measures would permit the creation of an atmosphere of breakthrough, serious change, and a turning point in the course of the reform.** The creation, however, of an efficient system of social support of the population will afford an opportunity for alleviating the difficulties of the transitional period and facilitating the working people's adaptation to the conditions of a market economy.

The versions in question represent, in the main, the entire spectrum of possible strategies of implementation of the economic reform. The third is the most preferable.

Basic Components of the Economic Mechanism of the Transitional Period

Development of Diverse Forms of Socialist Ownership

The central component of the reform, which needs to be taken up immediately, is practical work **on the development of the diversity of forms of ownership.** The laws being studied at this time by the USSR Supreme Soviet should create the legal and economic conditions stimulating the accelerated conversion of state enterprises into leased, cooperative, joint-stock, personal (based on individual labor activity) and mixed enterprises, those operating in conjunction with the participation of foreign capital and others.

Union enterprises of a common power system, rail, air, and sea transport, the defense industry, and others in accordance with the list determined by USSR legislation could pertain among the state enterprises which will function under conditions of chiefly administrative methods of management.

The people working at these enterprises are in the civil service, and they are guaranteed (given the appropriate performance of their duties) a sufficiently high level of remuneration and social services.

The state's hand-over to the work force of its property on a contractual basis, using leasing relations for this, is essential. The lease should be seen as the most fitting form of realization of the principles of full economic accountability under the conditions of state ownership.

A more flexible degree of destatization should be achieved successively by way of the conversion of state enterprises, leased primarily, into joint-stock enterprises and associations. State revenue will come about here not only thanks to tax receipts, but also from dividends. The possibility of the work force's redemption of the leased enterprise and its conversion into collective property is anticipated also.

The task must be set of drawing unprofitable enterprises from state ownership in industry by the start of 1991, and in agriculture by 1992.

A question of exceptional importance is actual support for the diversity of forms of ownership in agriculture. To achieve the actual equality of all forms of management based on the principles of self-support and the chargeability of land use, all-around support for the organization of family farms, small-scale agricultural cooperatives, and the transfer of plots of land to the citizens leasehold, and also intensive work on the dissolution of hopelessly unprofitable kolkhozes and sovkhozes are essential. The peasants may remain on the collective farms, leave with the plot of land due them, set up a cooperative, agricultural group, or farm.

Restructuring of the Finance and Credit System, Financial Recovery, and Stabilization of Monetary Circulation

The recovery of finances and stabilization of monetary circulation are a priority for the advancement of radical reform. **It is for the purpose of financial recovery in the immediate future that a set of special measures is essential,** capable on the basis of the principles of the reform of halting the deterioration in the economic situation. Together with the elimination of unprofitable state enterprises, it would be expedient in this connection to study such directions as the introduction of a parallel currency and a temporary tax on industrial investments and the mass conversion into joint-stock companies of state enterprises by way of the redemption of the stock of the pertinent enterprises with the money accumulated by the work force.

To reduce pressure on the market of the population's accumulated monetary resources it is essential to stimulate savings in every possible way. It would be expedient to implement such measures as an increase in interest on the population's term deposits in the USSR Savings Bank; a sharp increase in the proportion of cooperative housing construction (up to 65-70 percent of new apartments) and the sale of a portion of state housing; the sale of dacha lots; a variety of special loans to the public for the guaranteed provision of housing, the acquisition of durables, and so forth.

A decisive factor of financial recovery is, of course, an increase in production efficiency based on a real strengthening of economic accountability. The most important steps in this direction are **the introduction of a uniform tax system and credit reform.** It is not now individual profit-tax rates which will be adjusted to enterprise possibilities; enterprises will be forced to align themselves with the general demands of efficiency.

The new legislation governing banks and the USSR State Bank must be the nucleus of credit reform. It is essential to switch from the present credit system performing, in the main, control and distributive functions to a modern two-level banking system. The lower level would be commercial banks operating on the principles of full economic accountability and independently mobilizing and utilizing credit resources. The upper level would be represented by the USSR Gosbank [state bank] performing the functions of a central bank, single emission center, and "bank of banks" regulating the functioning of the entire banking system by means of the discount rate, the practice of holding in reserve in its accounts resources of the commercial banks, and a number of other economic quotas. It is possible with these to ensure far more reliable control of the money supply than in the current system.

It is essential to increase considerably the interest on enterprise deposit accounts in order to erect an economic barrier to the irrational use of economic resources. This is particularly important in view of the cancellation of the charge for production capital. There should, accordingly, be an increase in loan interest which would make it possible to limit economically the demand for credit and credit investments.

Reform of Remuneration, Labor Relations, and Social Support of the Population

The situation which has taken shape in the social sphere is even now characterized by the **rapid polarization of income and the emergence of a contrasting discrepancy, whose existence is leading to increasingly great social and psychological tension.** Considering the prospects of the development of the market economy, fundamental changes in remuneration and labor relations, and also the creation of a special system of social support of the population are essential.

The principal direction of the reform of remuneration is its increased flexibility and capacity for adaptation to the changing conditions. State guarantees of a minimum wage differentiated per qualifications and, to a certain extent, per occupation also are essential here for all workers. The state wage rate system will be changed fundamentally. It must contain minimum wage rates and salary schedules differentiated basically per qualifications. Sectorial differentiation will be eliminated. Work conditions, territorial included, should be taken into consideration with the aid of a system of coefficients to these wage rates and salary schedules confirmed by the state.

The overall amount, however, of the income of a specific workman taking shape from the wage, money paid out from profits, and also income obtained from stocks and other securities in the form of dividends, interest, and so forth is regulated merely by tax and is not limited by a maximum amount.

The comprehensive **improvement of labor legislation** and its adaptation to the conditions of the socialist labor market are essential. This applies primarily to questions of job placement, dismissal, and rights in the sphere of pay, work time, recreation, and such.

It is also necessary to create a new mechanism of pension support which, taking as the basis a living wage, enables all elderly and disabled members of society to maintain their current living standard and organically incorporates a system of pension and benefits indexing in accordance with changes in the cost of living.

The development of market relations will lead to an **exacerbation of employment problems.** Considerable expenditure on the part of the state on retraining workers and organized recruitment and relocation, and also on temporary unemployment benefits will be required. Some of these resources should be used on in-kind forms of assistance to unemployed workers and their families. The creation of such funds is a matter brooking no delay, and it must be tackled in the immediate future.

The system of social support of the population also incorporates measures to compensate for consumer price rises. Without them not a single step can be taken in the field of improvement of pricing and the introduction of market regulators. These include determination of the cost of living in the country as a whole, in individual regions, and for various groups of the population; determination of a differentiated living wage; formulation of a mechanism of evaluation of the dynamics of the cost of living and the introduction on this basis of a system of indexation of the population's monetary income.

Formation of the Market and Restructuring of Planning and Pricing

We must in the next 5 or 6 years tackle in close linkage the problems of formation of the market and the restructuring of planning and pricing. It is necessary to switch as quickly as possible to the sale at free prices of a portion (no less than 5-10 percent) of all types of industrial-engineering output manufactured over and above the state order. Enterprises would acquire an opportunity to use part of the resources they have accumulated and begin the process of adaptation to market conditions. Subsequently the amount of output sold in this way should increase rapidly (to 80-90 percent by 1995) in line with the financial recovery of the economy and stabilization of the ruble.

Of paramount importance in the wake of this will be questions of ensuring the efficiency of the market mechanism, and the main efforts will have to be shifted to the development of competition. It will be necessary to draw up and **implement a special antimonopoly program** providing for the enactment of antimonopoly legislation; the development of a network of small enterprises and nonspecialized works at operating enterprises; the breakup of organizational monopolies of the multi-association type, science and production associations, and main administrations uniting the majority of enterprises of a sector and encompassing a large part of union or regional markets. Also needed is the intensification of foreign economic relations and a considerable increase in the openness of the Soviet economy. For large enterprises encompassing a considerable portion of the home market the export of a certain proportion of output on pain of the application of antimonopoly sanctions should be obligatory. It is necessary at the same time with customs import concessions to encourage the importation of products whose domestic market is monopolized.

The restructuring of planning has to tackle a dual assignment. First, a new methodology of planning, forward primarily, with the application of program-goal methods, which would proceed from the existence of the market and, taking market information as a basis, would ensure the planned regulation of reproduction processes and market conditions, is essential. The 13th 5-Year Plan affords a favorable opportunity for this, and it should not be missed.

It would be expedient to construct the 13th 5- Year Plan as one of implementation of radical economic reform. It should provide for the allocation of state capital investments with regard for the demands of the social orientation of the economy, a strengthening of the ruble, and the development of the industrial and market infrastructure. The plan must also determine realistic dynamics of prices, pay, and other income of the population by year of the 5-year plan linked with the financial balance sheet of the state and provide for the necessary measures and reserves for regulating these parameters.

Second, in the transition period planning should supplement the market and regulate it, placing state orders and distributing the product supplied per the state orders. Obligatory state orders will be placed only at state enterprises, the remainder, on a contractual basis. Economic methods stimulating the acceptance of state orders, including the use of flexible prices, are essential.

The restructuring of pricing is a key component of the entire reform in the immediate future. The financial recovery, the rate of formation of the market, and the achievement of a balanced economy will depend to a decisive extent on how it is conducted.

It cannot, however, be reduced to the customary one-time price revision, which is incapable of doing the main thing for the incorporation of market mechanisms—"invigorating" prices and imparting flexibility to them. A reform of pricing realized as a process of the stage-by-stage transition to a dynamic system of prices balancing supply and demand corresponds more to current conditions. The following procedure of its implementation is possible: Three types of prices are introduced: **Fixed,** determined by the Council of Ministers, chiefly for primary resources; **controlled (ceiling),** determined by state authorities placing state orders, given the conclusion of contracts for their fulfillment included; **free (contractual),** as agreed by the parties.

Fixed wholesale prices in the raw material sectors of industry will be raised in a coordinated manner over 4 or 5 years as of 1990 in the direction of the consistent approximation to the level and correlation of world raw material and energy resource prices.

Controlled wholesale prices of the products of the mechanical engineering and other sectors of manufacturing industry will change proceeding from the requirements of consistent transition to wholesale trade. At a particular stage a dual prices version is possible: One price for products sold within the framework of the state order, the other, for the same products sold freely per direct contracts with the consumers or the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply authorities (this process has already begun).

The strategic path of the reform of pricing in agriculture is the local authorities' controlled determination in centralized fashion of a system of rental payments given the abandonment of direct state intervention in determination of the levels of the prices of specific products. The formation of a system of evaluation of natural resources and the planning of the amounts of the rental payments is becoming a most urgent task of the republic and local authorities.

Most complex problems in the social field will be connected with the restructuring of retail prices and the consumer market. It should be acknowledged that under the conditions which have taken shape, given the huge budget deficit, the reforming of the system of wholesale and purchase prices, the formation of the market and, altogether, **the successful implementation of the economic reform are impossible given continuation of the present retail prices and the procedure of their formation.** Without mobile prices reacting to the dynamics of supply and demand it will not be possible to achieve a balance of the consumer market and, consequently, overcome the deficit, profiteering, and the shadow economy. Sooner or later it will be necessary to take painful steps to increase retail prices.

The system of social support of the population will make them acceptable to the working people.

It would be expedient to restructure retail prices as follows:

Switching to free prices for the supply and demand of luxury items, the majority of imported goods and high-quality foods and delicacies;
differentiating fixed state prices for basic foodstuffs depending on quality, maintaining the present prices of the lower grades;
handing over the control of prices of products in respect of which state budget subsidies are paid to the republic and local authorities together with the corresponding amounts of the subsidies, according them the right, with regard for the opinion of the population, to decide independently the question of use of the said amounts. Until market balance has been achieved, the local authorities may also introduce within the limits of available resources coupons, cards, and other methods of normalized distribution.

Strict financial and credit policy and development of the market and competition will make possible by economic methods a halt to price rises, and the increase in incentives to production growth and the increased diversity and quality of the goods and services afforded by the new management mechanism will ultimately secure a rise in the well-being of all working people. There is simply no other way of accomplishing this task, whoever has promised to accomplish it and how.

The improvement in the situation on the consumer market should be used for a **thorough restructuring of the system of wholesale and retail trade in consumer goods.** A system of the strict distribution of state allocations, inevitable under the conditions of serious deficit and fixed retail prices, reigns here currently, being a principal source of unearned income, unwarranted privileges, and economic crime. This system must be eliminated as a most dangerous monopoly. It must come to be replaced by normal wholesale and retail trade via a system of enterprises of various forms of ownership.

Rebuilding of Organizational Structures

The transition from the administrative-command system to a market economy requires a cardinal transformation of the organizational structures in production and management. It is necessary to switch from the hierarchy of administrative subordination permeating the whole economy and society from top to bottom **to a system of organizational relationships in which horizontal relations and equal partnership predominate.**

Experience has shown that it is necessary **to alter our approach to the transformation of organizational managerial structures,** create more stable conditions for work, and reduce reorganization to a minimum, including at the central economic authority, ministry, and department level. **Organizational transformations need to be made when they are a natural consequence of actual changes in the distribution of functions** and their transfer to the level of basic component. These changes will occur primarily in connection with enterprises' departure from ministry jurisdiction and their transition to lease, joint-stock, cooperative, and other forms of ownership, with the formation of the market and the limitation of the amount of state orders and ceilings and with the strengthening of the power of the soviets at all levels. Ultimately only state enterprises will remain under the direct administration of the ministries.

It will be necessary to strive for the optimum combination of large-scale, mid-sized, and small enterprises and to eliminate the organizational monopolies which are currently preponderant. At the same time, however, large, administratively independent economic structures of a new type—corporations, concerns, consortia—will be formed. They must be structured such as to preclude their conversion into monopoly producers of this product or the other.

In the transitional period the work of the state management authorities of all levels should be restructured on the basis of the surmounting of the confusion of the functions of state administration and direct management which has taken shape over a long period. Questions attributed by legislation to the jurisdiction of the enterprises should be removed from the jurisdiction of the state authorities. It is essential to transfer all functions which may be exercised in the form of chargeable services to financially autonomous organizations.

Abandonment of the sectorial (departmental) principle of the building of organizational structures based on enterprises' administrative subordination will make it possible to realize the economic independence of the union republics and establish normal relations between the territorial authorities and the enterprises with observance of their legitimate rights.

It is necessary in the solution of questions of leadership of the economy in the regions to avoid versions amounting to a transfer of administrative authority pertaining to enterprise management to the republic and local authorities, which is fraught with the danger of **substitution for the command of union departments of the similar actions of the local authorities.** Relations between the enterprises and territorial administrative authorities should, as a rule, be built not on the basis of administrative subordination, but on the provisions of legislation determining enterprise obligations in respect of participation in the formation of the financial base of the republics and regions, use of natural and labor resources and the social infrastructure. For the development of the distinctive culture of the peoples of our country, the union and autonomous republics and other national-territorial formations must be accorded the maximum independence in the organization of their economic life and social sphere.

Restructuring of Foreign Economic Activity

Both economic and political considerations dictate the need for a qualitative change in the role of foreign economic relations in the development of the Soviet economy. From having been a means of "patching up holes" in material balance sheets they must become a powerful factor of the intensification of production based on the consistent integration of our economy in the world economy.

The basic direction for an improvement in the system of management of foreign economic relations is the continued **broadening of enterprise independence,** which should provide for freedom to export all products manufactured over and above the state order, the use of currency income up to and including deposits in foreign banks, and other forms of overseas investing.

The restructuring of foreign economic activity as an integral part of economic reform presupposes renunciation of the system of differentiated currency taxes and the extension of a uniform tax system to the currency income of economic subjects and citizens.

Prerequisites for the introduction of ruble convertibility will gradually take shape as the mechanism of market regulation of the economy is formed. Essential for this is a liberalization of imports with the aid of regular currency auctions or the organization of a currency market within whose framework enterprise currency resources and an ever-increasing amount of the currency centralized by the state would be realized.

An active search for new sources of financial and material support for the measures being implemented is required. **The development of a special program for attracting foreign investments** pertains among the priority measures.

Stages of the Reform

Realization of the concept of radical economic reform is making very high demands on the organization of control of the transformation processes. It is necessary to foresee the possible consequences of the adopted decisions and the duration of the reform and prepare measures ahead of time in case this situation or the other arises in order to move consistently toward the ultimate goals of the reform.

The logic of determination of the sequence of measures of the reform proceeds from the fact that a real upturn of the economy may be achieved only by means of an appreciable increase in the incentives to labor and economic activity and also an improvement in coordination of the activity of the participants in social production.

Stage I—preparation for implementation of a set of one-time measures pertaining to the creation of the economic mechanism of the transitional period—1990.

Laws designed to lend impetus to the transformation of ownership relations, the Common Tax System Act, and the USSR Gosbank Act promoting a strengthening of economic accountability and financial recovery will be elaborated and enacted at this stage.

Processes of enterprises' transition to leasing and their conversion into cooperatives, joint-stock companies, and other economic associations are to be stepped up in this period.

Reforms of pricing, remuneration, and social security will be prepared. A system of income indexing will be introduced, and the pertinent legislative instruments will be enacted. The practice of the application of controlled prices in wholesale trade and the organization of commodity auctions may be expanded. Currency auctions will be organized. Questions of the restructuring of planning will be developed. There will be extensive retraining of personnel.

Special measures will be implemented in respect of the financing of the recovery, primarily with regard to reduction of the budget deficit, a curbing of the growth of the population's income, and a limitation of credit investments and emission. All unprofitable enterprises in industry are to have been eliminated by the end of the year with their conversion into leasing, cooperative, and joint-stock enterprises by the end of the year. Capacity for consumer goods manufacture will be developed. The structure of imports will change. Measures will be taken to reduce losses of agricultural products. Laws on the economic independence of the union republics, regional economic accountability, and local self-management will be prepared and enacted.

Deferred demand will persist in substantial amounts in this period, given preferential growth of the supply of goods and services compared with the growth in the population's monetary income.

Stage II—implementation of a set of one-time measures and the startup of the economic mechanism of the transitional period—1991-1992.

All the enumerated legislative instruments will come into force and measures providing for their realization will be implemented at this stage. The indexing system will make it possible to embark on the pricing and remuneration reforms. Adjustment of the new system of planning and the placing of state orders and also the application of controlled prices will begin.

It will be necessary at this stage to accelerate appreciably the process of destatization in all sectors of the national economy. It is essential by the end of 1991 to have completed the liquidation of loss-making sovkhozes and kolkhozes with the formation on the basis thereof of farms, cooperatives, and so forth. There will be difficult processes of enterprises' adaptation to the new tax system and stricter credit policy. Credit reform will begin with the restructuring of the work of the USSR Gosbank.

Processes of the formation of a market in connection with the authorization for the sale of output over and above state orders at free prices are to progress sharply. Commodity auctions and periodic fairs will be converted to commodity exchanges and commercial centers. A stock market will be organized.

The second stage is decisive in the startup of the economic mechanism of the transitional period. An atmosphere of change, an end to the slump in production and the start of its upturn with an increased orientation toward the consumer can and should be created. The first results of the efforts pertaining to an increase in the manufacture of consumer goods should be tangibly reflected. However, as a consequence of the incomplete nature of the financial recovery, disproportions in production which have not been mastered, and the continuing monopolization, the deficit will most likely not have been completely surmounted as yet.

Stage III—fine-tuning of the economic mechanism of the transitional period and realization of the program of development of the reform—1993-1995.

The financial recovery of the economy will be completed and the antimonopoly program, including the introduction of the pertinent legislation and the essential rebuilding of the organizational structures, will be realized at this stage. Without financial recovery the struggle against monopolism will be ineffective under deficit conditions.

Prices and incomes will grow as a consequence of the expansion of the market sector and the policy of controlled inflation. The creation of a two-level banking system will make it possible to increase the regulation of these processes by credit levers, by means of interest policy and other measures. The state will have acquired a powerful inflation-curbing instrument.

A balanced consumer market is to have been achieved by the end of the stage. A considerable development of foreign economic relations will have been secured, and the climate for foreign investments will have improved sharply, and they will have begun to produce results, contributing to saturation of the market. The conditions for the partial convertibility of the ruble, with the use, possibly, of a parallel currency, are to have been created. Competition will begin to exert its influence.

A realistic evaluation of the depth of the crisis and the possible pace of emergence therefrom forces the assumption that the entire third stage will most likely be a period of stabilization of the economy, during which a high growth rate should not be sought nor investment programs accelerated.

Stage IV—the formation and development of the new economic system and completion of the formation of the structure of production and socioeconomic relations appropriate to it—1996-2000 and subsequently.

Strong effective stimuli of economic upturn and the people's increased well-being will have been created at this stage. If the set tasks are accomplished, reform in the full sense will bear the fruit which all Soviet people expect from it.

Moscow's First Currency Auction Held 3 Nov

LD0311130389 Moscow TASS in English
1245 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—About 200 participants in the Soviet Union's first currency auction gathered at the Bank for Foreign Economic Relations (Vneshekonombank) today. Soviet state-run enterprises, amalgamations and organisations are among buyers and sellers of currency.

The participants in the one-day auction may sell or purchase any freely convertible currency, necessary for their production activities, for Soviet roubles.

They may use the purchased currency to import equipment and goods, make payments under earlier concluded contracts or pay for the services rendered by foreign firms.

According to an established procedure, potential buyers sent their requests to Vneshekonombank not later than five days before the beginning of the auction, listing amounts of currency they need as well as fixed prices at which they would like to buy the currency. The minimum amount for the sale of currency is an equivalent of 50,000 Roubles and that for a purchase—10,000 Roubles.

Currency auctions, which from now on are expected to be held in the Soviet Union regularly, are designed to substantially contribute to the solution of a whole package of matters concerning the country's economic development, a Vneshekonombank spokesman told TASS.

By drawing additional currency funds they will promote an accelerated introduction of modern technologies at enterprises of various sectors, to broaden their export resources, raise the quality of output and boost the production of consumer goods. Auctions will become yet another step in preparing conditions for a gradual transition to the rouble convertibility.

At the close of the auction the organising committee will announce its results in the press and through the Soviet news agency TASS, giving the total amount of sales as well as the lowest, highest and medium bid prices.

'Economic Crisis' Meeting Set for Mid-November

LD0311173289 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] A national conference is to be held in mid-November in Moscow on ways to resolve the persistent economic crisis. The conference will be attended by 1,200 scientists, experts, and industrial managers.

A document has been prepared for the conference reflecting various views and positions. Three variants of reform have been suggested that could be roughly described as conservative, radical, and moderately radical. They all have in common recognition of a need for breaking up the existing system of economic management and passing over to market economy. They differ though in methods and proposed tempo of change.

The aim is to lay down a foundation for a new economy meant to serve human needs.

Agricultural

Food Supplies Rising Slower Than Crop Yields

PM0311124589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Konovalov report under the "Topical Subjects" rubric: "The More We Harvest, the More We Lose"]

[Text] You should not count your chickens in the fall. Nor your grain, sugar beet, potatoes, and other produce from the fields. It becomes clear at this time how abundant or scant the harvest is and how successful the harvest has proved for crop farmers and, thus, for replenishing our food stores. However, clearly, that is by no means the whole story.

We have already grown accustomed to the fact that reports of record harvests and the situation with regard to food products in the country may not be directly connected. This year is perhaps particularly significant in this respect.

For the country as a whole the yield and the gross harvests of basic agricultural crops have topped the results as of this time last year. The average grain threshed per hectare is considerably higher than both the 1988 and 1987 levels. The yield of sugar beet and potatoes has risen by almost 30 and 20 quintals respectively in comparison with last year, and sunflowers have exceeded their 1988 level.

But let us look at comparative statistics for the passage of the harvest from the fields to our tables. Drastic malfunctions appear here straightaway. The removal of the harvest from the fields and its sale to the state are not only not increasing to an equally significant degree in comparison with last year but for some crops are lagging behind the 1988 graph. For instance, the state has received less grain from farms although the harvest is larger. While only 195 quintals of sugar beet have been dispatched per hectare in comparison with 206 quintals last year despite an increase in yield of almost 30 quintals. State procurements of potatoes are somewhat ahead of last year's level, but here, too, there is a lag against the rate of increase in yield.

You do not have to look far for the explanation for these alarming disproportions. They are the old well known troubles, but no less troubling for our rural economy. Alas, the sorry general rule remains in force: The more you harvest, the more you lose. Providing agricultural production with transport, fuel, and processing capacities is still the prime problem. In the course of the harvest campaign there have been constant alarm signals regarding obstructions in grain and vegetable shipments owing to shortages of machinery, freightcars, and fuel and lubricants, and the unreadiness of elevators and grain reception centers to receive the grain.... The situation has not changed even now as the field work draws to a close.

In Voronezh and Kursk Oblasts, where the sugar beet harvest is good, the processing enterprises' outmoded capacities are unable to cope with it. In Belorussia many potatoes are not being shipped out owing to lack of gasoline. More than 700,000 tonnes of sugar have piled up at the Ukraine's sugar and sugar-refining plants—there are no freightcars. The examples could go on and on.

It is painful to lose a harvest grown by hard peasant labor. But it is a bad habit to only rely on rescue methods, which cannot, of course, be avoided in this situation. It is clear how much the entire agro-industrial complex and its structure are in need of wide-ranging radical changes. How often has it already been said that it is ridiculous and wasteful to take grain to and fro—first away from the farms and then back to the farms in the form of mixed feed. How often have we said that processing units need to be brought near to the production base. And that rural dwellers need to be given the opportunity to dispose of their harvest more freely and thus more rationally, find themselves advantageous partners and consumers, form cooperatives, form diverse economic ties, and plan their own economy. Everyone will gain from this. The attempts to decide, plan, and organize everything for the peasant himself are doomed to bring about inevitable confusion and disorganization.

Agricultural Report for 1-5 Nov Period

LD0711021589

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 1-5 November, unless indicated otherwise. Times as broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

1 November

No relevant items.

2 November

Uzbek cotton-growers delivered 5 million tonnes of raw cotton by 1 November, and need to deliver only another 200,000 tonnes to fulfill the state plan. (Tashkent Domestic Service in Russian 0130)

In Belorussia, 2 million tonnes of sugar beets have been delivered to the procurement post by the farms of Tambov Oblast. (0304)

3 November

Farms in the Ukraine have completed the harvesting of sugar beets. The average beet yield was more than 345 quintals per hectare. (0304)

In northern Ossetia, the average corn harvest has been 45 quintals per hectare, while on average, 80-100 quintals per hectare of corn cobs have been harvested in front-ranking self-financing subunits. (0700)

4 November

Winter crops have been sown on 500,000 hectares in Uzbekistan. (0900)

Kazakhstan's state and collective farms today completed the procurement of fodders. Because of the protracted cold spring and the hot, dry summer, the planned tasks were not fulfilled for virtually all kinds of fodder. (1200)

5 November

North Ossetia has fulfilled the state order for sales of grain. (0000)

Tambov Oblast has overfulfilled the state order for sugar beets, dispatching 2 million tonnes to processing plants. (0000)

Military

All-Army Restructuring Conference Set for 18-19 Dec

PM0611145789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "At USSR Defense Ministry and Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate"]

[Text] The USSR Defense Ministry and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate have decided to hold an All-Army Officers Conference 18-19 December 1989, which will consider the question of the progress of perestroyka in the USSR Armed Forces and the tasks of officer personnel to further deepen perestroyka.

Perestroyka in the Army and Navy, the development of the processes of glasnost and democratization in the life of troop collectives, and the desire to effect fundamental changes in the activity of officer cadres make it necessary to discuss these questions in a constructive manner on an all-army scale.

The All-Army Officers Conference is designed to be an important concluding event in the final phase of forming renewed officers' conferences in units and on ships, developing this democratic institution and giving it the status of a consultative body attached to unit and ship commanders on all practical questions of concern to officers and the members of their families, on strengthening legality and law and order, and on ensuring social security for people.

The All-Army Officers' Conference will at the same time be a major event in the life of the Army and Navy in connection with the upcoming national celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War, facilitating the development of the best revolutionary and combat traditions of our country's officers.

Participants will be elected on a democratic basis in two stages: officers conferences in units, on board ships, and at USSR Defense Ministry establishments, military educational institutions, enterprises, and organizations will elect representatives to officers conferences in districts, groups of forces, fleets, and associations; and the latter conferences will elect representatives to the All-Army Officers Conference in accordance with prescribed norms of representation.

It has been proposed that the mass media provide broad coverage of questions linked with the preparations for the all-Army Officers Conference and of opinions and proposals voiced by officers in units, on board ships, and at military educational establishments and institutions.

Stationing of Armenian Servicemen Discussed

PM0611051289 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 89 p 1

[Correspondent V. Aloyan report: "Where Is the Soldier To Serve?"]

[Text] Yerevan—This year some draftees will take the oath in units close to home.

This is the 2d month now that draftees have been holding a sit-down strike in Yerevan's Theater Square and recently also in front of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee building, demanding to remain on Armenian territory to perform military service. They have been joined by young soldiers of Armenian nationality who have left their units out of fear of being drawn into a conflict on interethnic grounds.

A "roundtable" on this heated issue was held recently at the republic Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee.

"As for the idea of creating national Army formations, which are now being spoken of not only here but also in other republics, in my view it is unrealistic," USSR People's Deputy Major General M. Surkov said. "If only because no republic individually is capable of maintaining economically and arming the troops or of providing them with appropriate specialists. At the same time, in my opinion, it is perfectly realistic to create subunits—platoons and companies—along ethnic lines, in which young people will serve who have merited the right to this through their work and conduct."

Colonel Eduard Gevorkyan, chief of the republic Military Commissariat Political Department, reported that whereas previously just 0.5 percent of the total number of draftees remained on the republic's territory to serve, this figure has now increased to 20-24 percent, including the entire detail of military construction workers, who will participate in reconstruction work in the disaster zone. The Military Commissariat spokesman pointed out that by decision of the General Staff, as of last year's May draft, servicemen of Armenian nationality are not sent to Army units stationed in Azerbaijan, and vice versa. The republic Military Commissariat has raised the question of distributing to different subunits, as far as possible, draftees from two neighboring republics who are also in other regions.

A particularly sharp debate developed over the problem of interethnic conflicts in the Army, as a result of which people sometimes even die. The death of anyone is a tragedy, regardless of how he died, military men say. People also die in peacetime, and not only in the Army. As regards accidents in the Armed Forces, they have, alas, happened in the past too. And it would be wrong to say that they now happen only as a result of interethnic conflicts. Gen Surkov gave assurances that every fact cited will be investigated by higher military organs and, on being confirmed, will receive an appropriate assessment. For this, it was decided to create special commissions for each specific instance with the participation of not only military people but also representatives of the public and the republic's Komsomol.

The discussion lasted more than 3 hours and was quite spirited. Of course, the "roundtable" did not remove all the conflict problems—nor could it have done so—but the very fact that the meeting participants agreed to continue the discussion inspires hope that the situation will be resolved favorably. And this is very important, for very little time remains until the draft.

When I was getting ready to forward this material to the editorial office, I noticed on the way to the correspondents' center that the draftees' tent pitched in front of the Party Central Committee building had disappeared. I drove to Theater Square, where I met with Suren Sirunyan, a member of the action group for the defense of draftees' rights.

"We met once again and arrived, in the main, at an agreement," he said. "The draftees remaining in the republic will primarily include guys from the regions which suffered during the earthquake. They themselves will build cities and villages."

Drug Dealer Aided by Lax Army Security

PM0611145989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Nov 89 Second Edition p 8

[S. Ilchenko report under rubric "United Front Against Crime": "And If It Hadn't Been for Sheer Chance?"]

[Text] Confiscating large quantities of drugs from criminals has, alas, become a common activity for the Dnepropetrovsk militia. And the amounts have long been counted in kilograms. Thus in the past few days an Internal Affairs Administration special group discovered 3 kg of highly refined opium in the apartment of a local drug dealer. However, the case of former Warrant Officer Ivanchenko (name changed on the investigation authorities' request) surprised even experienced operators....

Late in the evening, a militia patrol from the Kirovskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department detained a certain Alekseyev who had made a knife attack on the driver of a brand-new VAZ-2108 vehicle. When Alekseyev was searched, 18 commercially-produced syringes containing a 2-percent solution of Promedol, a powerful narcotic which is difficult to obtain, were found on him.

"Where did you get it?"

"I bought it from that character!"

So the victim himself—26-year-old Ivanchenko—had to be searched. In the trunk of his car there was a cellophane package containing 332 syringes of Promedol....

After obtaining the appropriate warrant, militia personnel immediately carried out a search of the house where the drug dealer lived. Under a writing desk, they found another package which contained 380 full syringes and several bottles containing 2 liters of Promedol solution. This substance is very expensive. A standard syringe containing 1 milliliter of Promedol goes for R15 or more on the black market.

Only 4 months back, Ivanchenko was wearing the shoulder straps of a warrant officer and serving as chief of the medical stores at a military unit in Leningrad Oblast.

It remains only to guess how a medical service warrant officer on such a modest salary could acquire such an expensive vehicle and other valuable things. Yes, over a period of 5 years this man was in charge of a large store of drugs. Really in charge, because it cannot be said that there was any kind of serious supervision of his work. This is how, in the words of Ivanchenko himself, he acquired the drugs:

"When the time came for Promedol stocktaking I loaded a box with syringes and sent it to the okrug store. There they are listed without being counted, just according to the document. And I would keep whatever did not fit in the box."

We already know how many did not fit....

The materials on this crime were like a bombshell at the military prosecutor's office of the Vyborg Garrison. An investigation has begun, and it will probably reveal new channels through which drugs disappear. Although it is now obvious that Ivanchenko's main ally proved to be the scandalous carelessness and disregard of the Army officials with respect to the storage of drugs.

How is it that the USSR Ministry of Health adopted the appropriate decision on strict control in this sphere a long time ago, while the Armed Forces stood complacently aside? This is a very important question, because the conditions in which the drug dealer operated still exist in most garrisons. And who can guarantee that what happened in Leningrad Military District will not be repeated today somewhere in Transbaykal or Central Asia, and on a large scale?!

And for the time being, the conclusion is not very consoling: only chance helped to put an end to Ivanchenko's criminal ways.

Opposition to Riga Military Parade Criticized

PM0611091589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 89 First Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh: "Concerning Parade in Riga"]

[Text] In Riga on 7 November—the day of the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—fanfares will ring out, a combined military band will play the USSR state anthem, the echo of an artillery salute will roll over the Daugava River, commanders will form up in front of their subunits, and the scarlet of battle standards will blaze above the heads of the color bearers. And the parade of troops will begin. That will be on the morning of 7 November. But meanwhile....

"The planned preparation for the festive parade is under way," I was told by Colonel V. Fedorovskiy, commandant of the Riga Garrison. "Do you want to have a look? We have a practice drill going on at this very moment."

I willingly accepted the invitation, aware that the military are an embellishment to any festive occasion. It is an unrepeatable spectacle when a ceremonial march begins: The beat of the drums, the regular columns of men, the lockstep of the smart, sturdy young men in military uniform.... What boy's heart will not start beating faster at this sight?

I make no secret of the fact that I made my career choice in many respects under the influence of such military parades. And, incidentally, ones held right here, on the banks of the Daugava—that river dear to the heart of Latvians. And who knows how many more young men will want to become border troops, assault troops, and sailors under the spell of these festive spectacles? But, unfortunately, the preparation for the military parade does not induce such optimistic thoughts and recollections in everyone in Latvia.

The other evening I watched the regular news roundup on republic television. I saw footage of the same rehearsal. Vehicles—infantry fighting vehicles, armored personnel carriers....—moving along the streets of Riga. Then, suddenly, without any comment, these images were replaced. And we first saw animated people in one of the squares of the old city. What was going on there? Three- and four-year-old kids were throwing their toy guns into large bins specially set up so all could see. By all accounts, including the adults' conversation with the children, it was clear that the youngsters were not so keen on parting with their toys, but what could they do—Mom had so ordained.

It transpires that an environmental protection club was holding another function that day. Its slogan: "A world for children without war toys." It was the organizers' plan that as many people as possible be involved in the action.

Of course, it is the humanist organization's own personal affair to plan and hold events in keeping with its "status." But I, and not only as a military man, was made indignant by certain parallels drawn. Do we need this? Particularly on the television screen? A serious matter of state significance—a parade—and an entertainment show involving preschool kids....

Many officers and veterans, whose calls I had to take at the correspondents' center the next morning, saw this feature as ridiculing the military. The same messages were also received at the editorial office of the [military] district newspaper ZA RODINU in the days following the television broadcast. This incident could be put down to accident and attributed to some kind of misunderstanding, but for one thing.

Ya. Shkapars, a Latvian People's Front activist, was asked "by public request" to comment on the aforementioned television feature

"The time for parades is past," he said. "We should propagate ideas of peace..."

"But there are, after all, traditions of state holidays?"

"Let there be a parade in Moscow, but it is not necessary here. Military parades can only aggravate the situation..."

So that's the way it is.... I remembered these words of the People's Front figure with bewilderment as I stood watching the passing combat vehicles and admiring the uniform ranks of our soldier sons. How is it possible for a long-standing tradition such as the military parade in Riga to be interpreted as a "demonstration of military force to the Latvian people."

The parade has always been a demonstration of the servicemen's devotion to the people and their readiness to defend the Motherland, its ideals, and its future. Or is it that this does not please some people today?

Military Procuracy Discusses Construction Detachments

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[Text] The session of the Collegium of the Main Military Procuracy of the USSR which took place today was devoted to the legality of the military construction detachments working at construction sites of the national economy, the elaboration of effective measures for avoiding infringing the law, and provision of the legal rights for the personnel. Members of the collegium described the situation as unfavorable, noting serious deficiencies in the work of military officials and the administration of construction organizations and omissions in the procuracy's supervision.